Daily Report

East Europe

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FBIS-EEU-95-133 *12 July 1995*

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UN on 'Grave' Implications of Fall of Srebrenica

LD1107191995 London PRESS ASSOCIATION in English 1838 GMT 11 Jul 95

[By Charles Miller, Defence Correspondent, PA News]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The entire United Nations peacekeeping operation in Bosnia was in doubt tonight after the "safe area" of Srebrenica fell to attacking Bosnian Serb forces.

Urgent talks were taking place at UN headquarters both in New York and in the former Yugoslavia after the Bosnian Serbs brushed off Nato air attacks to enter the town.

"We are in full discussions about the future of the entire operation," said UN spokesman Chris Murphy in the Croatian capital Zagreb.

"The implications of what has happened in Srebrenica are very grave indeed—not least because the safe area of Zepa is also under pressure."

There was wide speculation that the Bosnian Serbs had seized the opportunity to take Srebrenica before the UN rapid reaction force was fully operational.

The Anglo-French armoured force is still forming up in central Bosnia, while 24 Airmobile Brigade has not been granted permission to move into Croatia.

Some 20,000 people fled Srebrenica as the Bosnian Serbs moved into the town. They successfully reached the UN compound of Potocari to the north of the town where 400 Dutch troops are based.

"There is a lot of small arms and sniper fire. It is a very, very dramatic situation," said Ron Redmond, a spokesman for the UN High Commission for Refugees.

UNHCR staff, who were forced to flee their office in Srebrenica for refuge in Potocari a few miles away, sent muffled radio reports describing how the 20,000 refugees were milling outside the tiny compound, unsure of where to go for shelter.

"These people are panicked, they have not eaten properly over the past several weeks. They are looking for some kind of protection, though there is little protection they can get from the peacekeepers at present," said Mr Redmond.

UN spokesman Alexander Ivanko said: "The Bosnian Serb army is now in control of Srebrenica."

Up to 1,500 Serb troops were said to have shaken off the Nato air strikes, which destroyed two tanks, and entered the town after a two-pronged assault.

In Belgrade, Stephen Oberreit of the charity Doctors Without Borders said: "Nobody is left in the town. The whole population is on the road."

Word of the fall of Srebrenica came after American and Dutch F-16 jets struck at Bosnian Serb tanks in an attempt to protect Dutch UN troops and thousands of people in the "safe area".

The Serbs ignored UN warnings of an attack and fought with Dutch troops manning the defensive line along the town's southern limits, shelled the town itself and bombarded a UN camp.

In Sarajevo, UN spokesman Lt Col Gary Coward said: "It's looking pretty gloomy."

Nato said its warplanes, protected by A-6 electronic jamming jets, attacked targets in the Srebrenica area at the request of the UN.

"We are continuing to give them aircraft to hit targets as they select. We're going to do that until the commander on the ground says it's been adequate to relieve the pressure," said a Nato spokesman.

In the Commons, the Prime Minister defended the air strikes and warned that continued fighting would put at risk the UN's presence in Bosnia.

He said UN commanders had been right to ask for air strikes and they deserved, and would receive, the Government's full backing for their actions.

And he warned: "Unless the warring parties are prepared soon to indicate that they are prepared to return to some form of discussion to reach a political settlement, there is no doubt that continuing fighting would put the continuing presence of the UN at risk."

Mr Major had been asked by Liberal Democrat leader Paddy Ashdown whether "the UN's ultimate will" was being tested by Bosnian Serbs.

Mr Ashdown added: "If that will fails then the UN's mission in the front-line areas of Bosnia is likely to fail with it."

Labour's shadow foreign secretary Robin Cook described the fall of Srebrenica as a "massive blow to the credibility and authority" of the international community.

He called for the deployment of the Rapid Reaction Force to be speeded up and urged the UN Security Council to issue an ultimatum demanding the withdrawal of the Serbs from the town.

"The UN must not back down in the face of this aggression," he said. "A determined and forceful response

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is now essential if the UN is to salvage what is left of its credibility in Bosnia."

In the Bosnian Serb headquarters at Pale, near Sarajevo, an adviser to Serb leader Radovan Karadzic, said: "The Nato policy of bombing is a counter-productive policy.

"The international community seems to have learned nothing from its past mistakes. The more they bomb us the more entrenched we shall become."

He claimed: "The Muslims have abused the status of Srebrenica's 'safe area' in order to launch terrorist raids against the Serb civilian population. We have had 30 civilians killed in the past 45 days and we are determined to put a stop to these acts of terrorism."

There is no reliable word on the number of casualties among the civilian population in the Srebrenica enclave since the Serb offensive was launched last Wednesday.

The UN said there was no information on the safety of the 30 Dutch peacekeepers seized on Monday.

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Foreign Minister Serreqi Returns From Argentina

AU1207111395 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1800 GMT 11 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Foreign Minister Alfred Serreqi returned to Tirana today. At the invitation of the Argentine Government, Serreqi attended a ceremony held in Buenos Aires on the occasion of the reelection of Carlos Saul Menem to the post of the president of the Republic.

During his stay in Argentina, Minister Serreqi held special meetings with the foreign ministers of Argentina, Brazil, Mexico, Venezuela, Peru, Chile, Uruguay, Paraguay, Bolivia, and Columbia, with whom he discussed issues of bilateral relations and cooperation within a multilateral framework.

Gjinushi Expects Court To Decide Against Berisha

AU1107130595 Tirana GAZETA SHQIPTARE in Albanian 11 Jul 95 p 2

[Article by A.C.: "Gjinushi: Demand for the Files Accepted in Record Time"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Tirana—The sensational issue of the files of the former State Security Service has been revived. "The Constitutional Court will soon make a decision," the deputy and Social Democratic Party leader Skender Gjinushi said yesterday. A large number of demands have now arrived at the office of the Constitutional Court, including the suit filed by the Social Democrat leader against the head of state and the National Intelligence Service. "My request has considered and accepted in record time," Gjinushi said.

In an article published in the press only one month ago, Skender Gjinushi was accused of being "an agent of the former State Security Service," but he did not hesitate to sue the president himself. Gjinushi said yesterday that "any decision would be a good thing."

SP Head Greets FRESH Congress From Prison

AU1207075295 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 8 Jul 95 p 1

["Message of Socialist Party Chairman Fatos Nano to the Second Congress of the Eurosocialist Youth Forum" held in Tirana on 7 July]

[FBIS Translated Text] Brothers and sisters, delegates to the Second Congress of the Eurosocialist Youth Forum [FRESH], and Eurosocialist contemporaries: On behalf of the Socialist Party [PS], I greet you from prison and wish you successful work.

I am convinced that your second congress will further affirm the values of the Albanian Eurosocialists as bearers of the ideals of freedom, solidarity, and humanism, as front-ranking fighters for the continuation and establishment of democratic reforms in Albania, and as devoted members of the PS and supporters of other progressive political forces.

Our society's road of democratic progress is more secure following the determined negative answer given by the Albanian electorate on 6 November 1994 on efforts to revive totalitarian structures and methods in the organization of the postcommunist state. I ask the congress to cheer the historic victory of 6 November and the great contribution of the Eurosocialists to achieving it, and to solemnly commit itself to protecting our fragile Albanian democracy against any kind of stain connected with the past!

Albanian society's road of democratic progress has become still more secure and irreversible following the decisive and positive response finally given by the Council of Europe to Albania's membership and after the serious political commitments to overcome the growing pains of democracy and to meet the standards required of us that Albanian officials have given to the most senior European officials. I ask your congress to also cheer this victory of historic importance for today's generation and for the future of Albania, and to similarly commit itself to political, social, and cultural initiatives to defend this victory, paving the way for Albania's ever-deeper inclusion in European civilization.

We do not lack the civil courage, from this congress of Albanian Eurosocialists that links us to civilized Europe not merely in name but in spirit, to greet Sali Berisha and Miguel Angel Martinez as the most senior official parties in this "marriage" of Albania with Europe, who are in consequence obliged to defend and develop this partnership in the spirit of their reciprocal responsibilities. For our part, we will unswervingly do our duty.

In the same spirit, we greet the Albanian Government and the entire opposition, which finally, in the teeth of the hostility that the advocates of anachronistic 60-year-old confrontation continue to cultivate in our internal political life, succeeded in working together for the national interests of Albania's integration in Europe. It only remains for this spirit of European civilization to prevail throughout the country, in a spirit of honest political competition, social peace, and national conciliation. We Socialists will work for this tirelessly and without giving way!

The PS has been and remains consistent in the realistic political stands it laid down at its First Congress on 10 May 1992, dissociating itself from the errors of the Albanian Workers Party and condemning the crimes of

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Enver Hoxha's communist dictatorship. In this spirit, just as we signed the law proclaiming the innocence of the former prisoners and victims of political persecution on 30 September 1991 as well as other acts for their full rehabilitation, we have not been lacking in political commitment or credibility in defending now and for the future the interests of victims of persecution both old and young, in accordance with the priorities that the underprivileged strata of society are given in our program and with European standards of human rights.

From this principled standpoint, we greet the political step taken by the president of the republic, who, in the constitutional position of the representative of national unity, formulated an expression of repentance and a civil apology on behalf of the new political class toward the victims and over the crimes of communism in Albania. Any official representative of the postcommunist state in this country, of whatever party, would have done such a thing as a political duty. We state with political responsibility and with total conviction that it is entirely clear to us that it is fruitless and obstructive to the democratic emancipation of Albanian society and to national conciliation to allow such sublime acts to degenerate into demagogy, to fail to use them to uproot the concepts and practices of discrimination and political apartheid that the present regime uses against its opponents, and, especially, to abuse them as weapons to politically neutralize and even annihilate the PS and the opposition as a whole or to remove their most trusted representatives from political life by "legal" force.

The Albanian Socialists, with the solemn commitment of the younger generation that dominates among them and which is represented at this congress of the FRESH, publicly declare that they have nothing in common with the crimes of the dictatorship, that they will fight to ensure that the law-governed state punishes the culprits of these crimes and will dispense impartial justice to their victims, and that, at the same time, that they will not allow anybody whether in power or not to trifle with this issue at their expense or to the detriment of national conciliation and social peace. We say no to political persecution and to state crimes against the individual, in the past, now, and in the future!

Eurosocialist contemporaries!

Current developments in Albania and Europe, the place you occupy in the PS and its international relations, and the FRESH's membership of the Socialist Youth International within the European Union involve a close tie between the present and future of democratic reforms in our party and in the whole of Albanian society, demanding an increase in your political, cultural, managerial, business, and social commitments. On behalf of the PS, I ask you to assume with maturity and responsibility the duties that the times place on your shoulders. I assure you that you will have my support at every step as your contemporary in your ideals and sacrifices.

Thanking you for your unswerving solidarity, I send greetings,

Fatos Nano, chairman of the PS, Bence, 6 July.

Socialist Party Leaders Reject Alia

AU1107131995 Tirana GAZETA SHQIPTARE in Albanian 11 Jul p 1

[Article by Arian Cani: "Socialist Party Rejects Alia: 'He Is a Politician of the Past'"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Tirana—"Ramiz Alia is a politician of the past, and will not interfere with the policies of the Socialist Party [PS]." This was the curt response of the senior Socialist leaders immediately after the former Albanian president's sensational statement, "I will be involved in politics," which Alia made on emerging from prison. However, the largest opposition party, while not prejudging his choice, has now closed its doors to the former president.

"Politics is a broad field," PS Deputy Chairman Servet Pellumbi said, "so that nobody is stopping even Ramiz Alia from being involved in politics." It seems that Pellumbi has so far preferred to show himself to be loyal, but what would his attitude be if Alia were to ask to join the PS? "We would not like Alia to interfere in the area of the field that belongs to the PS," the Socialist deputy chairman said, explaining that "Alia's views do not coincide with those of the PS." Pellumbi took the view that "Alia is a politician of the past."

The Socialist deputy Leontiev Cuci took the same view, but with different nuances. "Ramiz Alia does not have the moral right to become even an ordinary member of the PS," Cuci said. "Nevertheless," he continued, "the PS is open and cannot stand in his way." However, Cuci was decided: "Ramiz Alia has not taken part in the PS leadership and will not do so, even if some basic organization admits him as an ordinary member."

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Iran's Habibi Inspects Port Facilities in Varna

LD1107165595 Tehran IRNA in English 1426 GMT 11 Jul 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Varna, Bulgaria, July 11, IRNA—The visiting Iranian first vice-president, Hassan Habibi here Tuesday inspected the facilities of this coastal town, east of Bulgaria and west of the Black Sea. The aim of Habibi's visit to Varna is to explore joint cooperation in the area of transporting goods to Europe via the Black Sea. Iran is looking for the shortest and cheapest route for transporting its goods to Europe and Bulgaria via the Black Sea. Iran is studying shipping goods via Burgas and Poti ports, west of Georgia and east of the Black Sea, and Varna to Bulgaria and from there to Europe.

During Habibi's visit to Bulgaria a trilateral meeting on establishing a sea transportation line from Burgas and Poti to Varna will be held with participation of the Georgian deputy prime minister and Iranian and Bulgarian ministers of road and transport.

During President Hashemi-Rafsanjani's visit to Georgia last April preliminaries on providing Iran with necessary facilities in Burgas and Poti ports for transporting Iranian goods were completed.

Discusses Cooperation With Zhelev

AU1107180495 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 11 Jul 95

[Report by Kalina Stancheva]

[FBIS Translated Text] Does Bulgaria require Iranian petroleum? This question, which clearly needs further investigation of the mutual interest in such a deal, was asked by Iranian First Vice President Hasan Habibi during a 30-minute meeting with President Zhelev. The two leaders also discussed certain big infrastructure projects, a future oil pipeline, and a transport link between the ports of Varna and Poti.

The Bulgarian president expressed the view that the legal and contractual basis for our bilateral relations was not at a level sufficient to guarantee investments in both directions. It was established that both sides wish to reach agreement on present and future forms of cooperation.

According to presidential adviser Georgi Georgiev, the Iranian side invited the Bulgarian president to visit Iran at a time convenient for him. Mr. Zhelev also issued an invitation to Iranian President Hashemi-Rafsanjani to visit Bulgaria.

Further on Bilateral Cooperation

LD1207074795 Tehran IRNA in English 0608 GMT 12 Jul 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sofia, July 12, IRNA—Bulgarian President Zhelyu Zhelev and Iran's First Vice-President Hasan Habibi here Tuesday reviewed promotion of bilateral and regional cooperation. Calling for further expansion of mutual relations in all fields, Zhelev stressed that implementation of infrastructural projects as well as bilateral transportation cooperation would bring the two countries closer to each other. He referred to his country as a major route to transfer Iran's gas to Europe and also help expansion of Iran's international cooperation.

At the end of the meeting the Bulgarian president called on his Iranian counterpart, Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani to pay a visit to his country.

Later on the day, Habibi met with Georgian deputy premier who is currently visiting Bulgaria.

Reviewing bilateral relations, the two officials discussed establishment of trade and transport route to transfer goods from the Islamic Republic of Iran to Batumi port in Georgia and from there to the Bulgarian port of Varna.

Meanwhile, Habibi announced Iran's readiness to cooperate with the two countries with regards to the project.

Habibi left Tehran for Sofia Monday on a three-day visit heading a high-ranking political and economic delegation.

Joint Statement Issued

LD1207131895 Tehran IRNA in English 1105 GMT 12 Jul 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sofia, July 12, IRNA—Visiting Iranian First Vice President Hasan Habibi and Bulgarian Prime Minister Zhan Videnov in a joint press release issued here Wednesday announced their agreement on Tehran playing host to the forthcoming session of Iran-Bulgaria joint economic commission in September this year. The press release was issued at the end of the second round of negotiations held between Habibi and Videnov in Sofia, Wednesday. Both sides, the press release added, discussed in a friendly and constructive atmosphere ways of promoting bilateral cooperation in the fields of trade, industry, agriculture, transport, finance, cultrue and technology.

They also held talks on resuming the export of machinery, dairy products and tobacco by Bulgaria to Iran and also Iran's export of oil and non-oil goods including buses, lift trucks and auto spare parts to Bulgaria.

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Meanwhile, Habibi met the Bulgarian parliament speaker on Wednesday.

Talking about international issues and matters of mutual interest, the two officials for negotiated settlement of current conflicts in the Balkans.

Habibi is currently in Bulgaria on a three day official visit at the invitation of the Bulgarian premier. He is expected to leave Sofia for Belarus Wednesday afternoon along with his accompanying delegation.

Pirinski Departs for OSCE Session in Vienna

AU1207082495 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 0800 GMT 12 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] On 12 July Foreign Minister Georgi Pirinski departed for Vienna, where he will take part in the meeting of the OSCE Permanent Council.

Bulgaria's main interest in the meeting is mostly related to the preparations for the economic seminar that will take place in Sofia on 15-17 November 1995, Mr. Pirinski said prior to his departure. The development of the infrastructure and communications in eastern and southeastern Europe will be discussed at this seminar.

Mr. Pirinski will also meet the foreign ministers of Austria and Hungary.

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Havel Discusses Domestic Politics, Future

AU1207062395 Prague TYDEN in Czech 3 Jul 95 No 27, pp 26-29

[Interview with Czech President Vaclav Havel by Michal Ruzicka and Jiri Franek in Prague on 23 June: "I Will Not Join Any Party"]

[FBIS Translated Text] It is Friday, 23 June 1995, two days after the called-off strike of railroad employees. "I do not like it," President Vaclav Havel tells TYDEN, "when any group that expresses its demands is immediately dubbed a lobby, an interest, or a pressure group that follows only its own particular interest. I believe that all of the social strata should be listened to, their problems should be perceived and taken into account. It is the task of politics to peruse thousands of particular interests and eventually seek such solutions that will best suit the general interest. It undoubtedly is in the general interest that as many partial interests as possible be satisfied at least to a certain degree—of course, if they are legitimate."

[TYDEN] At the last Czech Social Democratic Party congress, it was said that this party will name you as its future presidential candidate. You did not comment on it at the time....

[Havel] I am certainly pleased when some party wants to nominate me for the presidential office. At the same time, however, I consider it really premature to deal with this topic today inasmuch as the presidential election will not take place until 1998. Moreover, I would not want to dramatize further the election campaign that will take place before the next parliamentary elections and will be rather dramatic anyway by having in the game a card with my name.

[TYDEN] Did it disturb you that you have in fact become an object rather than a subject of politics?

[Havel] I did not comment on it for understandable reasons. I will serve my country to the very end of my days, but I really cannot fathom in what station I will find it best to do so in 1998, 1999, or 2003, if I am still around.

[TYDEN] We have learned that a discussion has been going on in your proximity on whether the phenomenon of a nonpartisan president is not outdated. Is it outdated?

[Havel] I believe that I am the last nonpartisan president in this country, and I consider it an adverse phenomenon. I feel that it cannot do any harm if in our so overpartified political life at least one of the constitutional institutions stands outside the parties—for reasons of balance of the entire system. Moreover, it corresponds to our interwar tradition.

[TYDEN] If we are not referring to the future candidacy but, rather, speaking in general terms: Would you accept the post of a partisan president?

[Havel] I am not a member of any party and do not intend to join any party. If I ran once again, it would not be as a representative of a party.

[TYDEN] Following the parliamentary elections next year, your position can completely change. Have you considered this fact?

[Havel] The constitutional status of the president will be the same after the elections as it was before them. Of course, the degree of his political influence can change. I would not rule that out.

[TYDEN] What kind of election results would you most like from the viewpoint of the political system?

[Havel] You must excuse me, but a specific answer could be perceived as support for a particular party or parties. In the long run, I would consider it beneficial if we had only four parties in the parliament. Two could be so-to-say more right-wing, one more pragmatic—like the Civic Democratic Party—and one would emphasize certain spiritual moments. Today, this task is tackled by the Christian parties and the Civic Democratic Alliance. There could be social democracy, and then something like the pike in a fishpond somewhere in the center, which always helps toward a healthy balance in the parliament.

[TYDEN] Many people have claimed that the Civic Democratic Alliance is a presidential lobby. Is that true?

[Havel] I do not feel tied to any party. I do admit, however, that some of them are closer to me, while others are more distant. Nevertheless, I am trying to take stands according to the actual work rather than to a priori empathies. The Civic Democratic Alliance is close to me in many of the program postulates, but occasionally I also disagree with them.

[TYDEN] Is it just a matter of program, or also of people and personal ties?

[Havel] It should be, above all, the matter of program, but the psychological element plays its part in politics, and it is even more prominent than I had thought before I entered politics. The Civic Democratic Alliance is an intellectual party, it is a party of ponderers, which I rather like. On the other hand, it bothers me that these ponderers occasionally are unable to articulate sufficiently clearly what they have in mind.

[TYDEN] The government coalition occasionally stands on rather shaky legs. Does it make you uneasy?

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[Havel] When Mrs. Thatcher was here, she uttered a statement in the course of our political debate that a coalition is an idiotic concept. I disagreed and explained to her that, under the conditions of the European political systems, based on the principle of proportional representation, coalitions are necessary. Nevertheless, it is a part of the coalition concept that there always are some arguments. If it were not so, it would not be a coalition but, rather, a united party. The altercations in our coalition are not serious enough to jeopardize its existence. I believe that this coalition will survive until the elections.

[TYDEN] Recently, you refused to sign several bills. There are two ways of explaining this: Either the parliament is tired, or you have decided to be stricter....

[Havel] I would say that the first reason is more likely. I have not made any decision to return more bills than ever before. The parliament is overwhelmed with work; it must pass a tremendous quantity of laws because the entire legal system is being restructured. Every bill is a result of a very complex compromise, in which chance often plays its role, and the collective reason of the parliament can make an error without ever wanting to do so, which is a consequence of the very collectiveness of the decisionmaking.

[TYDEN] Have you reached the conclusion that the president should have—in connection with the legislative process, for instance—greater powers?

[Havel] I could imagine a reinforcement of presidential powers in some details, but I do not consider it the main issue, and I am not fighting for any additional presidential powers. It is more a matter of details—the status of the commander in chief, for instance, has not been clearly defined, and that unfortunately translates into our not yet having adopted the fundamental defense laws.

[TYDEN] Over the past six months, you have experienced several dominant events as a politician. The scandal concerning the BIS [Security Information Service] operation began in January. Some politicians and commentators reproached you for taking sides. How do you perceive it in retrospect?

[Havel] I have not taken sides. I have only promoted an objective solution to this problem. I was appalled by the huge campaign against Jan Kalvoda that he launched something that is just a figment of his imagination. It must be proved first that it is just an invention, guess, partial truth, or complete truth. In the atmosphere of the campaign—when the reporters wrote that Kalvoda said it only to distract the public from the bank scandal, which is nothing but psychological speculation—it seemed to me proper to listen to both, Kalvoda and Lux. They explained to me in detail why they have the suspicion and why Kalvoda published it, and, after this explanation, I was of the opinion that the matter should be properly investigated. I am afraid that this never happened.

[TYDEN] Your two key addresses have also been a subject of discussion for a long time. Many politicians and reporters responded to your parliament address with a complaint that the president should not comment on the "state of the union"....

[Havel] Whatever I do, someone does not like it. Some say that I do not comment on political matters enough, others that I comment on them too much. I will comment on them as much as I consider appropriate to my constitutional status and my nature.

[TYDEN] Your address contained some proposals. They do not seem to have led to anything specific....

[Havel] Numerous deputies, from various, very different political parties, told me [illegible]ately that my speech tremendously reassured th[illegible] because it pointed out certain fundamental long-term topics. They did not say as much publicly, which one can easily understand. It seems to me that it is good every now and then to point out some of the long-term, more important tasks—regardless of whether, how fast, and how something of it will be implemented or whether it will not be implemented at all. In this address, for instance, I proposed after good thought and consultations with experts something concerning the financing of political parties, and I knew beforehand that no party would agree to it. Of course, it may seem that it would be smarter not to say anything, if no one agrees to it, but I reached the conclusion that occasionally it is well worth it to say even things that will not be met with general agreement. After all, even a disagreement says something about the state of affairs. The disclosure of the real state of affairs then can never harm.

[TYDEN] You mentioned recently that, after the presidency, you would like to publish newspapers. Is this still true?

[Havel] That was a joke. I am not a business type, and I could not be a publisher of anything. Nevertheless, newspapers have always attracted me. When I just just 11 years old, I published a school magazine, and I published a samizdat journal at 15. Thereby I do not rule out that I would get involved with a newspaper.

[TYDEN] What would the newspaper of your dreams be like? How would it differ from existing newspapers?

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[Havel] I believe that a truly independent and completely nonideological daily for a demanding reader is lacking. It should be independent in the most profound sense of the word. It should be a paper where one always is curious about what it will carry. I, unfortunately, often find that, when I see the title of a commentary in the newspaper and the signature of the reporter, I know beforehand what it is about, and I do not need to read the commentary. I feel at times that newspapers are superficial, that what is in them is just such a record (of course, this cannot be generalized, it is really just occasionally) of what is in the air, what one hears in beer pubs, what one hears in the parliament lobby. Sometimes it is more reminiscent of gossip from the political parties' milieu than a true analysis of the topic. What bothers me, too, is that at times the reporters do not properly study the topic of their writing. I have seen, for instance, how I returned a bill, and a newspaper published a commentary criticizing my deed. The head of our legislation department then called the author and learned that he read neither the bill nor my reasons for returning it. When she asked him why he did not pick it up in our office, that we would give it to him, he answered: I do not have time to read such things. I must write....

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Prime Minister, Delegation End Visit to Portugal

LD1207092895 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 0800 GMT 12 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The Slovak Government delegation led by Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar has ended a two-day official visit to Portugal. At the end of the visit, Meciar said that the goals were achieved.

During the visit, an agreement on mutual support and protection of investment was signed, thus extending the existing contractual basis by an important document facilitating the development of economic relations.

Today, the Slovak delegation begins a visit to Spain. Prime Minister Meciar will hold a series of talks with Spanish Prime Minister Felipe Gonzalez, who is also the acting president of the Council of Ministers of the European Union. It is expected that, in connection with the integration process, the two prime ministers will assess Slovakia's relations with its neighbors, particularly the Czech Republic and Hungary.

Meciar on Meeting With Horn, Vranitzky

AU1207062195 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 8 Jul 95 pp 1, 6

[Article by Ivan Horsky: "Vranitzky-Meciar-Horn Meeting at Rust"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Rust/Bratislava—[Passage omitted] Asked by NARODNA OBRODA whether the Austrian chancellor, during the lunch, raised the issue of losses incurred by Austrian investment funds as a result of the change in privatization rules in Slovakia, Vladimir Meciar said: "I explained to him how things stand. The investment funds could not possibly incur any losses if they proceeded according to the law. The problems are faced by funds that did not pay any heed to laws and launched a premature advertising campaign, which is their entrepreneurial risk."

Replying to another question from our daily, whether the draft Slovak-language law was debated, Meciar said: "It was not the main issue. I just provided information on the drafting of the law. I said that the director of the Council of Europe Political Department paid a visit on 4 July and that he examined the draft and found out that it was in keeping with Council of Europe standards. We will use the experience of Council of Europe experts in preparing the law, and there is an agreement between me and the ethnic Hungarian parties that their representatives will be present in drafting the bill's article-by-article rendition."

Asked about his health after Crans Montana [which Meciar had to leave prematurely on 30 June because of an "indisposition"], Meciar confirmed that, after his meeting with Estonian President Lennart Meri at the Swiss forum, he was afflicted by a strong viral illness, accompanied by an ague, just like Deputy Prime Minister Sergej Kozlik. In view of his stronger physical constitution and resistance, he quickly overcame the illness, but Mr. Kozlik had to be given oxygen on the plane, twice lost consciousness, and was, according to the prime minister's words, almost on the other side of life [bol takmer na druhom brehu]. After his arrival in Bratislava, he was immediately hospitalized but is now already recovering. Just in passing, Meciar admitted that his indisposition was contributed to by high blood pressure, from which he suffers.

Kovac Refuses To Sign Amendments on Reducing Powers

LD1107145995 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1000 GMT 11 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] After the parliamentary amendment to the law on the Slovak Information Service [SIS], which stripped the president of his power to appoint and dismiss the SIS director, the president was stripped of yet another of his powers by the eighth parliamentary session in June. By adopting amendments to the law on the Army of the Slovak Republic and the law on military service, as well as some conditions of service, the power to appoint the Slovak Army chief of the General Staff has passed from the president to the government.

The arguments presented by the opposition, saying that this change will not result in any improvement in the quality of the Army and that the amendments violate the constitutional powers of the president as commander in chief of the armed forces, have not been accepted.

The amendment, which brought about stormy discussions not only in Army circles but also among lawyers and legislation experts, was eventually adopted.

President Michal Kovac has decided not to sign this amendment and has returned it to parliament for a new debate. As we have just heard, deputies have voted to put the returned amendment on the agenda of the eighth parliamentary session. The president has argued that he has not signed the amendment because it contradicts the constitutional development in our country, particularly the principles of a clear division of power, which should prevent the concentration of power in the hands of one body. The president is drawing his arguments on the Constitution—Paragraphs 102 and 119, in particular, which stipulate that the power to appoint higher level state officials is a right given exclusively to the president by the Constitution.

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Reacting to a question by Radiozurnal on whether, in his view, the issue at stake is a division or concentration of power, Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar said:

[Begin recording] Let us discuss what the concentration of power is.

The government is the highest executive body of state. Do we have any higher level executive body? If this body is accountable for its performance to parliament, if this body is carrying out the executive power and has the means to carry out this executive power in its hands, does this mean that this is a concentration of power? It is only the government's constitutional right.

Second, can we speak about one pair of hands if the government is a coalition government and consists of four political entities? This government bears all of the responsibilities, except that those who are in the opposition do not like the government and keep shouting that it represents a single pair of hands. It is one governmental pair of hands, even though the government is divided into coalition groups.

Hence, if powers and relations between the government, the Defense Ministry, and the Army's General Staff are amended, it is done with regard to the future setting up of a Council of National Security that will replace the Council of State Defense, and with regard to laying foundations for the division of labor and power between these institutions. This division must be clearly defined.

In my view, it is not important who appoints and who approves the appointment of the chief of the General Staff, whether it is the government or the president. The crucial issue at stake is who is going to have which particular powers, who is going to be accountable for which particular activities, and whether this model of management will get any closer to the model implemented by NATO countries, so that the two models are compatible, and whether citizen control over Army activities becomes stronger. If the answer to this is positive, our changes are good. [end recording]

Schenk Briefs WEU Delegation on Security Policy

AU1107122695 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 7 Jul 95 p 2

[Article by "od": "Are We Scared of the 'Russian Bear'?"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Bratislava—A 16-member delegation of the Western European Union (WEU) Assembly's Political Committee, which began an official visit to Slovakia yesterday, heard from its Slovak colleagues, National Council of the Slovak Republic [NRSR] deputies for the coalition and the opposition, assurances about the unchanging orientation of our foreign and security policy toward integration into NATO, the EU, and the WEU.

The WEU is NATO's European pillar. The delegation, which is headed by Luis Maria de Puig from Spain, met with Minister of Foreign Affairs Juraj Schenk and NRSR Chairman Ivan Gasparovic yesterday. According to Deputy Irena Belchorska (Movement for a Democratic Slovakia), coalition and opposition deputies demonstrated consensus in presenting the priorities of Slovak foreign and security policy. [passage omitted]

Members of the WEU Assembly's Political Committee inquired about the restructuring of our Army, Slovakia's involvement in the Partnership for Peace project, and our expectations with regard to Slovakia's admission into the WEU. As we were told by Jozef Prokes, member of the NRSR Foreign Relations Committee, they also asked what feelings are aroused in us by the "Russian bear," as he quoted one guest as saying. Replying to a similar question from Luis Maria de Puig, Foreign Minister Juraj Schenk said that it would not be optimal if Russia became a member of NATO but that it must become an important partner in the newly emerging system of Pan-European security.

"We are glad that discussions between NATO and Russia have started. Our joining NATO and the EU is not a matter of political prestige for us, but a matter of our genuine need," the Slovak minister stressed. Besides taking an interest in our relations with Russia, members of the Political Committee also inquired about our relations with Ukraine.

One of the topics of discussion was the restructuring of our Army. According to Prokes, we should not try to catch a moving train but complete the replacement of weapon systems in the Slovak Army by 2005. According to Juraj Schenk, the Slovak Government will allocate between 13 and 15 percent of the state budget to finance the Army's reequipment. He announced that the Slovak Republic wants to reduce the Army's numerical strength to roughly 35,000 men.

Poll: Citizens Prefer EU to NATO Membership

AU1207062295 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 10 Jul 95 p 1

[Article by "mh": "According to FOCUS, Slovaks Prefer To Join the EU Over NATO"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava—Two weeks ago, we published the results of a poll conducted by the Public Opinion Research Institute [UVVM] regarding the Slovak citizens' feelings toward the Cabinet's intention to seek EU membership. A similar survey was conducted by FOCUS and complemented by a question regarding

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NATO membership. The question was: If there were a referendum next weekend on Slovakia's joining the EU and NATO, how would you respond? The results are as follows:

Do you agree with Slovakia's joining NATO and the EU?

	NATO	EU
	Percent	
Would say yes	38.6	58.8
Would say no	21.3	17.3
Would abstain	19.2	8.0
Do not know	20.9	15.9

Source: FOCUS, Jun 1995, 995 respondents

It is interesting to compare the results of the UVVM with those of FOCUS (only with respect to EU membership):

According to FOCUS, how would supporters of individual political parties vote? Most votes in favor would come from the Democratic Union (80.5 percent); followed by the Hungarian Coalition, the Christian Democratic Movement, the Slovak National Party, and the Party of the Democratic Left (56.7 percent); the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (56.0 percent); and, finally, the Association of Workers of Slovakia (47.8 percent).

As the table indicates, the feelings about Slovakia's joining NATO are not as unequivocal: 38.6 percent of the respondents are in favor, 19.2 percent oppose it, and 42.2 percent are without a firm stand ("I would not take part in the referendum," and "I do not know").

In favor of joining, the party supporters would vote as follows: the Christian Democratic Movement 61.2 percent, followed by the Hungarian Coalition (57.3 percent), the Democratic Union (54.5 percent), the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (39.1 percent), the Party of the Democratic Left (31.7 percent), and the Association of Workers of Slovakia (26.1 percent).

HZDS May Declare Soros Persona Non Grata

AU1107175995 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 7 Jul 95 pp 1-2

[TASR report: "HZDS Calls on George Soros To Publicly Apologize to Slovakia"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava—The Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] sharply protests against statements about Slovakia made by George Soros, U.S. financier of Hungarian origin, at the international economic forum in Crans Montana, Switzerland, last week, Stanislav Haber, director of the HZDS Public Opinion Department and HZDS press spokesman, told TASR yesterday. The HZDS calls on George Soros to publicly apologize to the Slovak Republic. Otherwise, the movement will demand through its club of deputies in the National Council of the Slovak Republic that the Slovak Ministry of Foreign Affairs declare him persona non grata and bar him from entering Slovakia. In his speech at Crans Montana, Soros said that Slovakia was a country that has wasted the chance it got after the fall of communism. He also cast doubt on the freedom of the mass media and alluded to the possibility of fascism emerging in Slovakia.

The Association of Workers of Slovakia [ZRS] "perceives George Soros as the main enemy of peaceful life in the young Slovak Republic and registered his speech as the effort by an individual to impress upon the world a bad image of developments in Slovakia," says a statement that was delivered to TASR by ZRS Chairman Jan Luptak. Expressions of nationalism are alien to the ZRS, which condemns any fascist passions.

The Party of the Democratic Left [SDL] issued a statement in which it considers George Soros's comments inappropriate. The party is sensitive and perceptive to certain worries being expressed by the official representatives of some states about Slovakia's isolation as a result of its policies. "They are concerned about the development of democracy in our Republic, about tendencies toward an authoritarian regime, the strengthening of nationalism, and expressions of state dirigisme." According to the SDL, it is necessary to give serious thought to such signals, rather than to the inappropriate statements of individuals.

"It seems that this was not the case of some coincidental speech at an international forum because the general tendency to label the Slovak Republic as an unwanted

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child in the European family, or even as an unwelcome and sick child that must be isolated and, if possible, removed, persists," Minister of Culture Ivan Hudec told TASR yesterday in reaction to George Soros's remarks. He went on to say that Mr. George Soros and many others have very good reason for acting the way they do. It seems that the very sick, chauvinistic, and imperially guided [imperalne riadena] idea of so-called Great Hungary has not died out. The idea of a common Polish-Hungarian border also lingers on, Ivan Hudec said. This is connected with efforts to dominate this region economically, to gain (cheap) Slovak labor, and so forth.

[Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 7 July on page 2 carries a 400-word TASR, CTK roundup of reactions to George Soros's speech. The roundup includes a statement issued by Anna Malikova, deputy chairwoman of the Slovak National Party (SNS), which states that "the SNS will demand a legal inquiry into the activity of George Soros's foundation on the territory of the Slovak Republic."]

Meciar, Social Partners Discuss Economic Issues

AU1107130295 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 7 Jul 95 pp 1-2

[Article by Anna Capkova: "The Government Will Not Reassess but Will Merely Discuss the Decision To Raise Fares"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Sala—Representatives of the government, the Association of Employers' Unions, the trade unions, and the financial, economic, and research sectors met at Sala yesterday to consider the implementation of conclusions from their last meeting, held at Soporna at the beginning of this year, and the priorities of Slovakia's socioeconomic development. According to Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar, a number of tasks assigned at Soporna have been fulfilled or are being continuously fulfilled, but others require further search for compromise, in view of the social partners' divergent views. However, the divergent views do not concern substantial issues, Meciar stressed.

The social partners also dealt with a meeting to be held in October of this year on the government's initiative. It is to discuss the draft state budget and the concept of economic and social policy for 1996-98. The government projects a GDP growth of 5 percent for next year, a rate of unemployment under 13 percent, and an inflation rate under 10 percent. At the same time, it expects foreign trade to grow significantly. The government also envisages the passage of a law that would enable convertibility of the Slovak koruna on the current account as of 1 October of this year.

During the talks, the government also drew attention to the commitment from Soporna—to lower interest rates by 1 percent in the second half of the year.

On the trade unions' initiative, the social partners also dealt with the impact of higher railway and bus fares and the abolition of reductions in public transport [as of 1 July]. The government will discuss this problem again but, as Vladimir Meciar stressed, it will not reassess its decision because "we are not yet in a position in which we could afford to change the situation that has arisen here." In spite of everything, the government pledged to cover from the state budget, within the framework of its possibilities, costs connected with the social status of people, their age, and merits. [sentence as published] Alojz Englis, president of the Confederation of Trade Unions [KOZ], said in this context that employers should be permitted to include the reimbursement of their employees' increased commuter fares in their costs, with which existing legislation does not reckon.

[Bratislava SME in Slovak on 7 June on page 2 carries a 300-word report by "lsz" on the social partners' meeting at Sala, entitled "Social Partners' Positions Have Not Moved Any Closer," which states: "KOZ President Alojz Englis told us that the trade unions disagree with the government's privatization policy and demand that privatization decisionmaking powers be transferred from the National Property Fund back to the government. Replying to a question from SME, Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar said, however, that the government will not support this proposal. Likewise, the government does not intend to reassess its decision to abolish reductions in commuter fares, while the social partners propose a compensation of the higher fares—for example, by allowing employers to include prepaid permanent tickets in their costs.... According to Vladimir Meciar, social partners should not deal with increasing the minimum wages, and all resources should be used to revive housing construction. The trade unions disagree with this proposal and, according to Alojz Englis, they will demand that wages serve as an incentive to work."]

Minister Views Topical Economic, Financial Issues

AU1107131595 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 7 Jul 95 pp 1, 4

[Interview with Slovak Economy Minister Jan Ducky by Pavol Minarik in Bratislava; date not given: "The Worst Is Already Over for the Slovak Economy"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Minarik] How is the restructuring of the Slovak arms plants proceeding?

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[Ducky] What took place in our country in the recent past was not restructuring or conversion but a general moratorium on production and the export of weapon systems manufactured in Slovakia. If their output had been lowered gradually, the resources from arms exports could have been devoted gradually to conversion. A situation arose, however, that led the arms plants to the verge of collapse. Now we are trying to resolve it by specific means.

This involves holding; it should coordinate labor, finance, and activity in the plants with this type of production. In short, we are interested in ensuring that the outward situation is changed, a situation in which the majority of arms plants have begun to orient themselves toward the production of—often—absolutely identical road-building equipment, without diversifying or specializing, but are in competition with each other on the same markets. A lot of really hard work lies in store for us here.

[Minarik] What is your opinion of the Czech side's cancellation of the payments agreement?

[Ducky] I am a little surprised by the unilateral cancellation of the agreement because, just recently, development in the clearing account was the reverse. At that time, the Slovak Republic paid the Czech side for exceeding the credit margin, but it did not cancel the agreement. Our proposal for canceling the payments agreement could have been advantageous for the two sides. We wanted the agreement to be annulled jointly on 1 January 1996. Until then, we could have agreed on gradually reducing the credit margin to zero so that, after it came to an end definitively, no one would have had to settle anything. I personally do not think this was an economically justifiable step by the Czech side because the Czech Republic's 1.5-billion koruna deficit in the Slovak Republic's favor does not play a more serious role within the framework of the Czech side's overall deficit balance. Obviously, this was a political decision.

[Minarik] Prime Minister Klaus has expressed his conviction that this step should have no effect on the development of mutual trade.

[Ducky] I would be glad if Prime Minister Klaus were right. I also do not think that the cancellation of the payments agreement should have a significant influence on the development of mutual trade. Although, on the other hand, it is true that costs for the business entities on the two sides will certainly go up. [passage omitted]

[Minarik] You prepared a draft law recently on safeguarding the state's interests in privatizing the strategic enterprises. What is its objective?

[Ducky] First and foremost, to protect the interests of the state and society in the privatization process. In essence, the draft law states which enterprises should not be privatized. This mainly involves the power-generating sphere, the gas industry, state forests, telecommunications, the railroads, and other enterprises of general importance for the Slovak economy. Thus, we want to create scope for consolidating their situation before the Slovak Republic's full entry into Europe so that they are capable of competing with the major European enterprises.

The draft law, which has already been submitted to parliament for discussion, also talks about certain rights for the state in the privatized enterprises. For example, this involves making sure that, under the law, the large privatized enterprises—such as VSZ [East Slovak Iron Works] and Slovnaft—have to devote part of their profit to future development and so on. There are also some "brakes" in the draft law ensuring that the new owners cannot act against the interests of the Slovak economy. [passage omitted]

German Partner Abandons Mochovce Project

AU1107141995 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 7 Jul 95 pp 1, 5

[Article by "TASR, NO": "Bayernwerk Withdraws From Cooperation in Completing Mochovce"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Munich—Several months after the Hannover-based Preussen Elektra AG, a member of the German-French association for the completion of the Mochovce nuclear power station [JEMO], stopped cooperating with JEMO, another German company—Bayernwerk, a subsidiary of the Viag concern—announced its decision to abandon its participation in the project. The completion of JEMO units according to the Western model has become questionable ever since the withdrawal of Slovakia's application for a European Bank for Reconstruction and Development [EBRD] loan for the project by Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar in late March. The units will now probably be completed without French participation as well, by Russian equipment and through the Czech firm Skoda.

According to the Western model, the power plant was to be completed by Siemens and Framatome, with the support of an EBRD loan amounting to roughly 1.45 billion German marks.

The nuclear power plant was to be managed by EMO, a joint venture belonging to Electricite de France (EdF—51 percent) and Slovensky Elektrarensky Podnik [Slovak Power Company] (SEP—49 percent). Bayernwerk

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did not intend to directly participate in EMO's activity but was to participate in financing JEMO's transition to Western technology. A joint model was originally planned, involving the EdF, Bayernwerk, and Preussen Elektra. The transformation of Mochovce was to serve as a model for other eastern nuclear power plants. The Viag chief did not want to comment on the reasons that made Bayernwerk abandon the project. The German DPA agency reported that the company's participation in the project has become very questionable of late, particularly because of the terms of its participation. Bayernwerk made its participation conditional on the guarantee that the Jaslovske Bohunice units would be taken out of operation immediately after JEMO went on stream. However, no one was willing to officially guarantee or accept this condition.

With Bayernwerk abandoning the project, Slovenske Elektrarne [Slovak Power Plants] has lost the possibility of repaying the loan for the completion of Mochovce with exports of cheap electricity to Germany.

[Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak on 8 July on page 5 carries an 800-word commentary by Vladimir Duduc entitled "Does Bayernwerk's Abandonment of the Mochovce Project Spell the End of EdF's Participation as Well?" The commentator believes that, following Bayernwerk's withdrawal from the project, "further participation by the EdF has become very uncertain because, with the Germans' departure, the possibility has vanished of repaying the loan for the completion of JEMO with exports of cheap electricity to Germany."]

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Kovacs Criticism of Education Law Surprises Romania

LD1107202195 Budapest Duna TV in Hungarian 1600 GMT 11 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The Romanian Foreign Ministry considers [Hungarian Foreign Minister] Laszlo Kovacs's statements to be surprising and unexpected, according to which the Romanian education law is in contradiction with the European norms and makes the conclusion of the Romanian-Hungarian basic treaty more difficult.

Bucharest is convinced that this [the conclusion of the basic treaty] is made complicated by the extremely exaggerated demands of the Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania and not the education law, which exceeds the European norms as well as the similar Hungarian law and the Hungarian reality, which is nothing else but the fact that the Romanian minority there is threatened by assimilation, the loss of linguistic, cultural, and ethnic identity.

Bucharest does not consider the Hungarian-Slovak basic treaty an example, and the basic treaties signed by Romania are not compulsory for the Hungarian party either. However, Romania is still ready to find the mutually agreeable solutions with goodwill, in an open and constructive manner, and hopes that Budapest is led by a similar intention, especially in the light of Kovacs's forthcoming visit to Bucharest [19, 20 July], the Romanian Foreign Ministry points out in its communique.

Foreign Minister Invited to Visit China

LD1107130195 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1000 GMT 11 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Hungarian Foreign Minister Laszlo Kovacs has been invited to visit China. It is hoped the visit will take place as early as the first half of 1996. This was said by Laszlo Kovacs following his one-hour talks in the Foreign Ministry with Chinese Foreign Minister Qian Qichen. They reviewed the most important questions regarding the international situation and bilateral ties. Qian Qichen briefed his Hungarian counterpart on the Asian situation, while Laszlo Kovacs outlined the European situation.

In a statement made after the talks the Chinese foreign minister laid emphasis on the cordiality of the two countries' relations. Laszlo Kovacs also agreed with this adding, however, that our economic relations—and within this Hungary's exports to China—are in a poor state, and that this must be changed at all costs.

President Signs Law on Supplementary Budget

LD1107195695 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1600 GMT 11 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The president of the Republic has signed the laws on this year's supplementary budget and on the budget for social security funds.

Following the ruling of the Constitutional Court—according to which several points of the government's economic stabilization program are unconstitutional—it was doubtful whether the head of state would approve these laws. In recent days, however, both the government and the opposition have made it clear that they would like the president to sign the laws, and now Arpad Goncz has done so.

KDNP Urges Government To Resign

AU1107075595 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 10 Jul 95 p 5

[Unattributed report: "The KDNP Calls On the Government To Resign"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The first year of the Horn-Kuncze government has been a year of unfulfilled promises and destruction. The coalition's legislative work lacks concept, is hasty, and is uncoordinated among the various ministries. The intention to achieve a consensus with the opposition proved to be a propaganda slogan to deceive the public, according to a statement by the Christian Democratic People's Party's [KDNP] National Executive Committee, which analyzes the government's year of legislation and economic and welfare policy. Owing to the squabble for power between the two coalition partners, the law on public media which would facilitate the dissemination of objective information has not been passed. For the same reason, the government majority only managed to pass the law on privatization after a year, which halted privatization for a year, causing huge losses.

Some 26 draft law proposals exist, which the government, contrary to its plans, has not even submitted to parliament.

The government's economic policy is not well thought out and is unpredictable. It is trying to govern on the basis of unreconcilable economic philosophies, while it is not conducting social dialogue and is ignoring expert opinion.

Haphazard and random privatization, which results in energy dependence, serves a narrow economic group, and is anticonstitutional because it takes assets away from local governments, has created a dangerous situation that might force the next government to reassess

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this situation, which seriously violates the country's interests, and partially to restore the original conditions through legal means. The past year has proved that this supposedly expert government is incapable of making situation analyses, of determining the interconnections, and of acting in a coherent way. This is why it was possible for the budget submitted by this government to fail within two months, which is a rarity in economic history. The supplementary budget is impossible to implement and actually also runs contrary to the Constitution.

In the constant internal fighting, the government has lost its moral standing: Instead of changing the system of severance pay, it has only spent its energies on creating a dependency system, making personnel changes and political cleansing. The country's international image has considerably deteriorated and the handling of the HungarHotels case has caused unmeasurable damage.

The KDNP's National Executive Committee protests the government's intention of placing the burdens of the increasing state debt on the most needy people. The so-called putting the country in order is making life impossible for families with children, people at the start of their careers, university and college students, sick people, and unemployed people approaching retirement.

The government's initial period of inactivity has now been replaced by hasty actions of professional narrow-mindedness in finances. Ignoring basic constitutional rights, and in spite of the opposition's well-meaning and well-founded warnings, it has forced unconstitutional measures onto the parliamentary majority and onto the president of the republic.

If the government is unable to handle the resulting situation, it should give an opportunity to more careful political realism by resigning, the KDNP National Executive Committee's statement concludes.

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Butrus-Ghali: RRF Unable To Free UN Hostages

AU1107195695 Paris AFP in English 1838 GMT 11 Jul 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Paris, June 11 (AFP)—UN Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali said negotiation was the only course open to the United Nations to secure the release of 30 UN peacekeepers held prisoner by Serb rebels in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The largely Anglo-French Rapid Reaction Force (RRF) formed in response to a similar hostage-taking incident in May would not be able to free the men, Butrus-Ghali told LE FIGARO newspaper in an interview to be published Wednesday [12 July].

"Its command still needs reinforcements in men and weapons to become operational," he said in the interview carried out before the Bosnian Serb seizure of the enclave of Srebrenica on Tuesday. "The United Nations has only one thing to do, that is to negotiate as we have already done twice in a similar situation."

UN officials are so far refusing to consider the Dutch peacekeepers as hostages, saying that no demand for their return has been made. It was not clear however that the peacekeepers were free to return to their bases elsewhere in Bosnia.

Butrus-Ghali said a "precise" plan for a withdrawal of the UN Protection Force from Bosnia had been drawn up and would, if put into effect, be made under NATO command. He said that he remained opposed to a withdrawal. "However it would be irresponsible not to envisage, not just intellectually but also in practical terms, the problems arising from a withdrawal of the Blue Helmets from Bosnia," he said.

Government Condemns UN Weakness Over Srebrenica

LD1107210295 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 11 Jul 95

["Official statement" issued by the Government of the Republic and Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina following an emergency session in Sarajevo on 11 July—read by announcer]

[FBIS Translated Text] The available information indicates that the UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] has ceded the protected and demilitarized zone of Srebrenica to the Serb terrorists. Tens of thousands of civilians are leaving the town and heading for Potocari. There are no reliable details about casualties but it is certain that there is a large number of dead and wounded civilians. The [word indistinct] situation of the displaced population is catastrophic.

The government undertook everything within its powers but could not prevent this tragedy. Unfortunately, through its passive attitude, the United Nations helped the Serb terrorists carry out their genocidal advance [word indistinct] Srebrenica. NATO's actions in the air came very late and were very (?weak). It is clear that the Serb terrorists were occupying Srebrenica already prior to this, and only then was the limited action by NATO's air force carried out.

The government has asked Foreign Minister Sacirbegovic to demand that the UN Security Council immediately issue an ultimatum on the reestablishment of the protected zone of Srebrenica. If the Serb terrorists do not withdraw from the protected zone of Srebrenica within 24 hours the government insists that air strikes continue until the protected zone is again brought under the control of the United Nations [words indistinct] of the UN Security Council and other relevant resolutions. The UN Security Council is also called upon immediately to take measures to protect the protected zone of Zepa where an attack by the Serb terrorists is under way.

The government also considered several measures to guarantee the protection of the helpless civilians in Srebrenica. The relevant ministers and their colleagues have already been sent to the area to carry out the measures adopted by the government.

Silajdzic Welcomes Dole Initiative

LD1107223595 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 11 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The prime minister of Bosnia-Herzegovina commented on the attack on the UN protected zone of Srebrenica for Bosnia-Herzegovina Television.

[Begin Silajdzic recording] It is obvious that the Serb terrorists' action today (?was helped by) the international community and the United Nations because the United Nations decided to call for a NATO action too late. We have been issuing warnings about this situation for several days. It was obvious a month ago that an action was being prepared against Srebrenica. But NATO was called in only today, and only after the first Serb units had entered parts of Srebrenica. The international community today helped the Serb terrorists, this time without disguise, to complete one of their jobs. I hope that this is the last time this happens.

As you know, Mr. Bob Dole, the leader of the Republican majority in the American Senate, intends to launch an initiative in the Senate for a vote on the lifting of the arms embargo. I think I had something to say to Mr. Dole about that issue today. It all boils down to me

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telling him that this needs to happen as soon as possible. It is obvious that the international community is today doing whatever suits the Serb aggressor, which is to (?destroy us). They are neither defending us nor allowing us to defend ourselves. The only question is whether the American people will accept being involved in genocide.

I will ask Mr. Dole in my letter to give the American people a chance to say that they do not want to have anything to do with genocide or be responsible for it. The American government says that it does not have enough vital interests in Bosnia to do anything. If this is so, why is there the embargo? Why is the American government taking the risk of being involved in genocide, of being linked with the arms embargo on a victim if it has no interests there? Why is it doing this if it has no interests in it? Finally, I will tell him that the final and the strongest argument cited by those who oppose the lifting of the embargo has been refuted. The argument is: If we lift the embargo, the enclaves will come under threat.

We can see that the enclaves are under threat and are being taken by the Serb terrorists, and the embargo is still in place. That argument (?does not hold) any more. I would say that the arguments have disappeared completely. Those who continue to keep the embargo on Bosnia-Herzegovina, even now after Srebrenica, are certainly responsible for the genocide there.

I hope Mr. Dole will launch that initiative and that the American people will say that they are against the arms embargo. We will tell the Americans one more thing: After three years of assisting the aggressor, after three years of keeping our hands tied, we have the right to (?air support). That is our right. We are not requesting any favors. For three years the enemy has been given the advantage to do what they are doing. We now want to be given arms, or to be allowed to procure them ourselves, and we want air support over the skies of Bosnia-Herzegovina. [end recording]

Silajdzic Wants 'Decisive Steps'

AU1107183295 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 11 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Haris Silajdzic, head of the Government of the Republic and the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, today held talks with the representatives of the War Committees of Srebrenica and Zepa, Murat (?Ofendic) and [words indistinct].

The prime minister briefed the Srebrenica and Zepa representatives on the measures being taken by the Bosnia-Herzegovina Government to have the international community fulfill its obligations on the protection of these security zones.

We are exerting pressure on all international players to take decisive steps. If they do not do that, the government will start a procedure aimed at a radical revision of the current role of the UN mission in Bosnia-Herzegovina, said Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic during today's meeting.

UBHSD Condemns UN Passivity

AU1107164595 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 11 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The Union of Social Democrats of Bosnia-Herzegovina [UBHSD] most sharply condemns the passivity of the UN forces during the [Serb] aggressor's attack on the protected area of Srebrenica and unprotected people in the demilitarized zone. This was stated by (?Nermin) Pecanac, the party's deputy leader, at a news conference today.

The party demands swift and effective action by the international community, which is obliged to ensure the implementation of numerous resolutions on Bosnia-Herzegovina adopted by the United Nations. Otherwise, the top authorities in our country, the Presidency and the Assembly of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, should reexamine the justification and conditions for the further presence of the United Nations in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Pecanac said.

Tuzla Continues Anti-UN Protest

AU1107143595 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 11 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Refugees from Podrinje and people from the Tuzla-Podrinje Canton continued their peaceful demonstrations in front of the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] base in Zubaca near Tuzla at 1200 [1000 GMT] today to prompt the international community to prevent the slaughter of the civilian population in Srebrenica. This protest action is one of the recommendations made at the session of the Cantonal Committee of the Party of Democratic Action with the head of Podrinje Municipalities last night.

The meeting supported the views and efforts of the Government of the Republic and the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina concerning the situation in Srebrenica, as well as the statement issued by all the political parties from the canton and some religious communities from this region.

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Dutch Minister: Serbs Threatened To Kill Hostages

AU1107184595 Paris AFP in English
1828 GMT 11 Jul 95

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] The Hague, July 11 (AFP)—Bosnian Serbs staved off further NATO airstrikes Tuesday [11 July] by threatening to kill the 30 UN peacekeepers they are holding, Dutch Defence Minister Joris Voorhoeve said here.

NATO had already conducted two separate strikes at Serbs advancing on the eastern Bosnian town of Srebrenica, when "we received terrorist threats from the Bosnian Serbs saying they would kill our 30 men who have been their hostages" since the weekend, Voorhoeve said. [passage omitted]

Air Strike Halt Followed Threats

AU1107193295 Paris AFP in English
1902 GMT 11 Jul 95

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] The Hague, July 11 (AFP)—Bosnian Serbs staved off further NATO airstrikes Tuesday [11 July] by threatening to kill the 30 UN peacekeepers they are holding, Dutch Defence Minister Joris Voorhoeve said here.

NATO had already conducted two strikes at Serbs advancing on the eastern Bosnian town of Srebrenica when "we received terrorist threats from the Bosnian Serbs saying they would kill our 30 men who have been their hostages" since the weekend, Voorhoeve said.

The minister said he himself intervened with a telephone call to UN envoy Yasushi Akashi to urge him not to continue the airstrikes, "the Serbs having threatened to kill the Dutch peacekeepers and to raze Srebrenica" and the village of Potocari, where the Dutch battalion is based.

He had also telephoned NATO secretary general Willy Claes to ask him to call off a third airstrike "which was already being prepared," he said.

The official line in Sarajevo has been that the 30 peacekeepers, seized when Serb forces overran UN observation posts at the weekend, are not hostages. [passage omitted]

The estimated 40,000 people in the enclave, a tiny proportion of the hundreds of thousands of non-Serbs who formerly lived in eastern Bosnia, were now "in danger of being ethnically cleansed," he warned.

Serbs Capture More Peacekeepers

AU1207101795 Paris AFP in English
1008 GMT 12 Jul 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The Hague, July 12 (AFP)—Bosnian Serb forces have captured 10 more Dutch peacekeepers in the eastern enclave of Srebrenica, bringing the total of UN war prisoners held by the Serbs to 42, the Defense Ministry said Wednesday.

The peackeepers were in two observation posts captured by the Serbs during their offensive on the eastern enclave of Srebrenica, the ministry said.

Serbs Disarm Dutch Battalion

AU1207115195 Paris AFP in English
1118 GMT 12 Jul 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The Hague, July 12 (AFP)—Bosnian Serb forces took 10 more Dutch UN peacekeepers prisoner in Srebrenica Wednesday [12 July] but disarmed the Dutch battalion previously protecting the area as part of a negotiated ceasefire, the defense ministry said.

Lieutenant-Colonel Tom Karremans, the head of the Dutch contingent of the UN peacekeeping forces, was negotiating directly with Bosnian Serb military leader General Ratko Mladic in order to obtain the release of the 42 prisoners now being held, and to allow safe passage of his 330 soldiers from the area along with their weapons, the ministry said.

Dutch peacekeepers, sheltering 2,500 refugees inside their camp, had handed over their weapons to Bosnian Serbs, the ministry said.

Another 20,000 refugees lacking adequate food and water, were massing around the camp, officials said.

The latest peacekeepers to be captured were in two observation posts taken by the Serbs during their offensive on the eastern enclave of Srebrenica on Tuesday. Three more observation posts remain manned by Dutch peacekeepers.

The cease-fire went into effect Tuesday night after Bosnian Serbs overran the enclave despite NATO airstrikes, and fighting had ceased, according to reports from the area.

The latest captures bring to 42 the number of UN peacekeepers being held as "prisoners of war," according to the Bosnian Serbs.

UN officials are studiously avoiding use of the word "hostage," though Dutch Defence Minister Joris Voorhoeve used the term late Tuesday and revealed

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that the Serbs had threatened to kill their prisoners if NATO carried out more airstrikes.

Voorhoeve appeared on television saying: "The Serbs have won." But he added that there was no chance that the Netherlands would withdraw its 190 soldiers from the Rapid Reaction Force, despite "terrorists threats regarding the lives of Dutch hostages."

"They told us they would kill all the Dutch peacekeepers that they have detained since the weekend and that they would destroy (the Dutch camp in Srebrenica) if we don't stop (NATO) air attacks," Voorhoeve said.

He and Foreign Minister Hans ven Mierlo were due later to address the Chamber of Deputies which had asked for the forces' withdrawal.

A survey of 1,000 people here Tuesday night found that two thirds of the Dutch want their soldiers out of the former Yugoslavia.

UN Spokesman Comments on Srebrenica Evacuation

AU1107171795 Paris AFP in English
1659 GMT 11 Jul 95

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Sarajevo, July 11 (AFP)—Mass panic gripped some 25,000 mainly Moslem refugees fleeing advancing Bosnian Serb troops who captured the UN safe area of Srebrenica on Tuesday afternoon [11 July], UN officials said.

Dutch peacekeepers who had earlier attempted to stave off the Serb attack on the town retreated along with the tide of refugees heading north to the relative safety of their base in Potocari.

Many wounded were among those who fled including possibly some Dutch UN soldiers who had thrown up a blockade to the south of the eastern Bosnian town in a desperate bid to stop the Serb advance.

A UN spokesman Alexander Ivanko said: "It's very hectic. We are trying to arrange a local cease-fire, we are trying to do what we can in the area. We are extremely concerned about the safety of the UN soldiers. We are trying to withdraw to Potocari and then we will have to reassess our presence and mission in the enclave."

NATO warplanes went into action over Srebrenica earlier in the day, blasting two Serb tanks that had attacked Dutch peacekeepers.

Ivanko refused to comment on reports that further air strike plans had to be abandoned because the Serbs threatened to shell Potocari. [passage omitted]

UN officials in Sarajevo said that at least 7,000 refugees were on the road heading north out of the town, which had been declared a safe area in 1993. [passage omitted]

About 30,000 Seek Protection

AU1107181195 Paris AFP in English
1742 GMT 11 Jul 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Geneva, July 11 (AFP)—Up to 20,000 civilians are seeking shelter near the Dutch peacekeepers' post north of the safe area Srebrenica, a spokesman for the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) said here.

The situation in the Moslem enclave is "very very chaotic," Ron Redmond told AFP after radio contact with two UNHCR aides there. "At least 20,000 people are encircling the Dutch UNPROFOR bataillon (at Potocari). Thousands more are coming," he said. "They are trying to get some kind of protection."

Redmond said that the Dutch battalion, the UNHCR, and humanitarian group Medecins Sans Frontieres were trying to do what they could to help the refugees, trying to give them food and shelter to the most vulnerable. "But it is a very, very chaotic situation," he said.

In Belgrade, Stephan Oberreit of Medecins Sans Frontieres told AFP that about 30,000 people fled Srebrenica Tuesday as it was falling in Bosnian Serb hands.

Serbs Threaten Civilians

AU1207070195 Paris AFP in English
0638 GMT 12 Jul 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, July 12 (AFP)—Bosnian Serb forces warned Wednesday that they would shell the more than 15,000 civilians that have sought refuge at the only UN compound in the fallen enclave of Srebrenica if NATO jets go into action again.

"The Serbs have positioned tanks, guns, and multiple rocket launchers in direct line of sight of the Potocari UN compound and they will shell the compound and the refugees if we request Close Air Support," Alexander Ivanko, a UN spokesman said.

On Tuesday, NATO planes carried out two airstrike missions, called Close Air Support by the United Nations, on tanks attacking Dutch peacekeepers defending the UN safe area of Srebrenica.

Potocari is in the north of the enclave, one of three in eastern Bosnia surrounded by Serb forces. Ivanko said some 15,000 refugees have massed around the camp, where the 400 odd Dutch peacekeepers are attempting to care for the wounded and share out their limited rations.

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Only 48 Hours of Rations

AU1207094395 Paris AFP in English 0806 GMT 12 Jul 95

[Report by Adrian Brown]

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Sarajevo, July 12 (AFP)—Bosnian Serb forces warned they will shell the thousands of civilians that have sought refuge at a UN compound in the fallen enclave of Srebrenica if NATO jets go into action again, UN officials said Wednesday.

The threat came as the UN Security Council struggled to formulate a reaction to the collapse of its mandate in the enclave, working on a resolution that would demand an immediate pullout of Serb forces from Srebrenica and authorise the UN to use force to regain control there.

"The Serbs have positioned tanks, guns, and multiple rocket launchers in direct line of sight of the Potocari UN compound and they will shell the compound and the refugees if we request Close Air Support," UN civil spokesman Alexander Ivanko said.

On Tuesday NATO planes carried out airstrike missions on tanks attacking Dutch peacekeepers defending the UN safe area of Srebrenica but failed to deter the Serb takeover.

Ivanko said the peacekeepers took the latest Serb threat seriously.

Potocari is in the north of the government-held enclave, one of three in eastern Bosnia surrounded by Serb forces. Ivanko said some 15,000 refugees have massed around the camp, where some 400 Dutch peacekeepers are attempting to care for the wounded and share out their limited rations.

All UN soldiers in the enclave have been ordered to pull back from posts dotted around the perimeter of the pocket and head for the relative safety of the Potocari compound.

"The Dutch are doing their best to share out their rations and provide some medical care. They have very little left, about 48 hours for everybody," said Ivanko.

The spokesman said there were "50-plus severely wounded people" outside the camp. There are no UN casualties, Ivanko said, adding: "It's unbelievable, but it's true."

Dutch peacekeepers fled Srebrenica town Tuesday afternoon amid a flood of refugees as Serb troops backed by tanks and artillery smashed their way into the UN safe area.

NATO air action to counter the advance was stymied by the Serbs who threatened to kill the 30 Dutch soldiers they hold, seized when they began to push home their offensive over the weekend.

The murder threat was made to the commanding officer of the Dutch troops in Srebrenica, Lieutenant-Colonel Tom Karremans who held talks with the Serbs on Tuesday evening, Ivanko said.

"These talks were not extremely positive. They demanded that we stop using Close Air Support and they want the BiH (Bosnian Government Army) to hand in their weapons," Ivanko said. He said no deadline for this demand was set.

Bosnian army soldiers in Srebrenica are lightly armed.

The defiance of the Serbs who swept into the enclave, supposedly protected by the United Nations, took the peacekeepers by surprise. France has offered to reestablish the security zone by force but the final decision is down to the UN Security Council, diplomats said.

In New York, French UN ambassador Jean-Bernard Merimee said Britain and Germany were working with France on a resolution threatening action under Chapter 7 of the UN Charter which authorizes the use of force if deemed necessary.

China and Russia were hesitant to accept explicit references to Chapter 7, European sources said.

A Foreign Ministry official in Moscow said the NATO air-strikes against the Serb forces had been "unjustified" and counterproductive.

Srebrenica was the first UN safe area set up in 1993 following a similar Serb offensive on the mainly Moslem civilians living in eastern Bosnia. Two others, Zepa and Gorazde, lie close by.

UN officials said the Zepa enclave had come under mortar attack on Tuesday but said they did not consider it serious. "There was some shelling last night but we have no reports of casualties," Ivanko said.

Dutch Commander Negotiating Passage

LD1207101695 Hilversum Radio Netherlands in English 0930 GMT 12 Jul 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The Bosnian Serbs say they will shell thousands of civilians who have sought refuge at the Potocari United Nations compound if NATO carries out fresh air strikes. There are between 20,000 and 30,000 refugees at Potocari in the north of the Muslim enclave of Srebrenica who fled when Serb forces overran Srebrenica town on Tuesday, despite NATO air strikes. The Serb threat follows the tabling of a draft resolution in the UN Security Council which

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calls for military force if Serb troops do not withdraw from Srebrenica.

Dutch UN commander Tom Karremans is negotiating with the Serb military commander Ratko Mladic about safe passage out of Potocari for the refugees and 400 Dutch UN troops.

The Serbs say they are regarding 30 Dutch peacekeepers taken hostage at the weekend as prisoners of war.

UN Seeks Relief Convoys

AU1207115795 Paris AFP in English 1142 GMT 12 Jul 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Geneva, July 12 (AFP)—The office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees told the Bosnian Serbs Wednesday they want to send two relief convoys from Belgrade to the fallen Bosnian Moslem enclave of Srebrenica.

"We have advised the Bosnian Serb authorities that we must have the convoys in today," UNHCR spokesman Ron Redmond told AFP.

Ten thousands civilians have taken refuge in the UN Dutch peacekeepers' camp at Potocari, he said.

Twenty thousand others others were camped around the UN compound "with absolutely nothing," having had to flee the Serb advance.

Reports of Additional Refugees

AU1207124095 Paris AFP in English 1221 GMT 12 Jul 95

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Geneva (ONU), July 11 (AFP)—United Nations officials appealed to the Bosnian Serbs Wednesday to let them send two relief convoys from Belgrade to Srebrenica where thousands of civilians are in need of food and medicine.

UNHCR spokesman Ron Redmond told AFP that his agency wanted to send medical aid and emergency supplies to the Moslem enclave.

Ten thousand civilians have taken refuge in the peacekeepers' camp at Potocari, he said. Reports from The Hague said 2,500 people had sought refuge inside the Dutch camp.

Twenty thousand others were camped around the UN compound "with absolutely nothing," having had to flee the Serb advance. [passage omitted]

"We are also worried about the problem of water supplies, the Serbs having control of the water."

Redmond said the UNHCR had heard unconfirmed reports during the night that another 7,000 to 8,000 of the Moslem enclave's 42,000 inhabitants were also trying to reach the peacekeepers' camp from the southwest of the country.

He could not confirm Wednesday midday that they had arrived, but said the enclave's inhabitants seemed to be isolated in their villages.

He added that the international aid agency Medecins Sans Frontieres was giving out medical aid at Srebrenica but it was not possible to know if they had been able to reach people at Potocari.

UNHCR officials are also negotiating with the Bosnian authorities at Tuzla, the town closest to the enclave, over the possible evacuation of Moslem civilians from the area.

UN Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali said Tuesday that the refugees had become their "main problem" and that they had to be taken to another zone.

United Nations officials at Zagreb had no news on the situation in Zepa, another enclave south of Srebrenica, where there are some 12,000 people.

Bosnian Serb forces said Tuesday they were on the point of capturing it.

Additional UN Protected Zones Under Serb Attack

Zepa Attacked From Two Sides

AU1107183395 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 11 Jul 95

[Interview with Bosnia-Herzegovina Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic by Samir Huseinovic: place and date not given—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Huseinovic] Mr. Silajdzic, can the NATO aircraft attacks on the Serb aggressor positions around Srebrenica change the course of events?

[Silajdzic] As far I have heard, the Serb terrorists have taken an observation post of the Netherlands forces, they have arrested the commander, and they are threatening to kill him if NATO aircraft action does not stop. As you know, it appears that a tank has been damaged. This is the entire action, as far as I know. In my opinion, this was too little too late.

I do not know what is happening to the residents of Srebrenica. This is the most important thing. I do not know why, I have no answer, nor has NATO or the United Nations, why they had to wait until the terrorists virtually entered the town. I do not know that. But what I know is that this is too little and too late. The Serb terrorists can sacrifice a tank once every month or two months, if this is the price.

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As far as I know, they are now attacking Zepa and Gorazde with artillery. Zepa is being attacked from two directions. Therefore, this action by the United Nations, that is, NATO, is not sufficient. It came too late because, as far as I know, Janvier and Akashi called on NATO to act too late. They could have done this five days ago, four days ago. Even if they had done something yesterday, the situation would have been quite different. They have virtually waited for the Serb terrorists to enter the town to do something.

[Huseinovic] Does this belated action of NATO aircraft, as were all the previous ones, only amount to putting on a show and making a smokesscreen for the international community?

[Silajdzic] In any case, what worries me are the residents of Srebrenica. Unfortunately, I cannot tell you what is happening. I hope that it has not come to the worst. I hope that they still have something with which defend themselves. As far as I am concerned, I think that the United Nations, above all, the United Nations, failed to do something here in time, and that someone should be called to account for this.

[Heseinovic] There are some indications that UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] is this time publicly participating in the genocide by resettling the civilian population from Srebrenica.

[Silajdzic] There has been some talk about moving the population with the help of the United Nations. This is also a possible scenario. In any case, I fear for the lives of these people most.

Serbs Urge Zepa To Surrender

AU1107202095 Paris AFP in English 2001 GMT 11 Jul 95

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Zagreb, July 11 (AFP)—Bosnian Serb television reported here Tuesday [11 July] that a second UN-declared safe haven, the mainly Moslem town of Zepa, would surrender imminently.

The television station also interrupted the regularly scheduled broadcast to announce "the liberation" of Srebrenica, which fell to Bosnian Serbs despite NATO airstrikes on their tanks.

There was no immediate confirmation of the Bosnian Serb television report.

"At this time in Srebrenica, men of combat age are turning in their weapons and we are expecting Moslem paramilitary units in Zepa to do the same during the night," the television reported. [passage omitted]

Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic named Miroslav Derovic as his representative to Srebrenica, the television reported.

Bosnian Serb forces shelled the Zepa enclave, the United Nations said. The Bosnian Serb army began shelling Srebrenica last Thursday to soften it up for an invasion by ground troops. Zepa is a UN-declared safe area, as Srbrenica was, and is located south of the town. Ukrainian peacekeepers monitor Zepa as Dutch units did for Srebrenica.

Tens of thousands of Moslem civilians have been in the besieged town since the Bosnian war began three years ago.

Bosnian Serb television reported that civilians and UN representatives and soldiers would be treated "in conformity with international conventions."

The television anchor called on the defeated Moslems to cooperate. "Those who are not guilty of crimes have nothing to fear," the television said.

Serbs: Fall of Zepa Imminent

AU1107191695 Paris AFP in English 1904 GMT 11 Jul 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, July 11 (AFP)—Bosnian Serb television reported here Tuesday [11 July] that the surrender of a second UN-declared safe haven, the mainly Moslem town of Zepa, would surrender imminently. [sentence as received]

The television station interrupted the regularly scheduled broadcast to announce "the liberation" of Srebrenica, which fell to Bosnian Serbs despite NATO airstrikes on their tanks.

Serbs Shell Gorazde Civilians

AU1107191895 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 11 Jul 95

[Report by Muhamed Hadziahic]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] This afternoon, the [Serb] aggressor continued artillery attacks on civilian targets in the free Gorazde region. The aggressor's shelling left one civilian seriously wounded. Muhamed Hadziahic has the details.

[Hadziahic] About 1600 [1400 GMT], when a general danger alarm was sounded in the UN protected area of Gorazde, Karadzic's Chetniks showered the town center with shells from the direction of Cajnice. One civilian was seriously wounded. The outskirts of this protected area, Mitrovici, Mravinjak, and Vranici, and

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the Gorazde-Mravinjak road came under sniper and small arms fire this afternoon. [passage omitted]

Una-Sana Appeals for Help

AU1107155695 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 11 Jul 95

[Interview with Mirsad Veladzic, president of the Una-Sana Canton, by Muhamed Mulic; place and date not given]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Mulic] Mr. Veladzic, the humanitarian situation in this part of Bosnia-Herzegovina is assuming catastrophic proportions. What is your assessment of the situation?

[Veladzic] The humanitarian situation in the Una-Sana Canton is quite difficult. However, the people from this region are doing everything they can to find a way to survive and facilitate active defense, which is present in the Una-Sana Canton all the time.

We are in constant touch with humanitarian organizations in our canton. Food is arriving in (?extremely small quantities). We still insist and expect the international community finally to understand [words indistinct] keeping people hungry for such a long time in fact means helping the aggressor.

What we are worried about in particular is [words indistinct] in Una-Sana Canton, but also in other UN protected areas. We see that the international community is not changing its policy, although in its official statements it supports the just struggle of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina. However, in deeds, it is simply helping the aggressor. We simply hold the view that this policy is wrong, and that the freedom-loving people in the world must exert pressure on their governments to change their policy toward Bosnia-Herzegovina and to stop helping fascism.

What is important and characteristic for this region is that the people have become aware that only their army represents the chance for survival. Therefore, they place everything they have at the disposal of the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina. [passage omitted]

Serb Minister Wants Redefinition of Safe Areas

LD1107185495 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1712 GMT 11 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Sarajevo, 11 Jul (SRNA)—Aleksa Buha, minister of foreign affairs of the [Bosnian] Serb Republic, said in Pale today that "it is high time that the UN Security Council redefined the status of the so-called protected zones in the former Bosnia."

After his talks with Jose Manuel da Costa Arsenio, Portuguese ambassador and member of the EU observer mission, Buha said that the Serbs were forced to launch a counteroffensive in the Srebrenica area.

"Srebrenica is a terrorist stronghold from which the Muslims have carried out several attacks against Serb villages in the past month and killed 30 Serbs, both civilians and fighters," the Serb Republic foreign minister said, noting that this was also the case with the other so-called protected zones of the former Bosnia.

Denying reports of the capture of Dutch UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] soldiers in the Srebrenica area, Buha said that when the clashes broke out, they voluntarily crossed to the Serb side with all their weapons and that their movement had not been restricted.

"Although they were given permission to return to Srebrenica, the Dutch soldiers expressed the wish to remain on our territory and wait for replacements which were due to arrive on 2 July," Buha explained.

Asked whether the Serbs had given an ultimatum to the Muslims in Srebrenica to withdraw from the enclave without their weapons within 48 hours, the Serb Republic foreign minister said: "I have no information on that."

Zubak, Muratovic, Military Confer on RRF

AU1107200795 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 11 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Minister [in charge of relations with UNPROFOR] Hasan Muratovic, Mustafa Hajrulahovic, member of the General Staff of the Army of Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Federation President Kresimir Zubak, and General Havel (?Kolas) today held a meeting in Mostar to establish a unified political stand on the UN Rapid Reaction Force [RRF].

They discussed the [words indistinct] for accepting the RRF, especially an agreement on their operations on Federation territory.

Sacirbegovic Addresses European Parliament

AU1107194595 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 11 Jul 95

[Report by Senad Kamenica]

[FBIS Translated Text] Muhamed Sacirbegovic, foreign minister of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, today addressed the European Parliament's Committee for Foreign Policy and Security in Strasbourg. Senad Kamenica reports:

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[Kamenica] The extremely difficult situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina, especially in Srebrenica, the violation of all resolutions and ultimatums by the aggressor, and the unbearably passive attitude of the international community with regard to this, were the topics of the speech by Muhamed Sacirbegovic, foreign minister of Bosnia-Herzegovina, in the Committee for Foreign Policy and Security of the European Parliament [EP].

Minister Sacirbegovic's speech was met with positive reaction of the majority members of the committee, with the usual opportunism of the unobjective members toward aggression on Bosnia-Herzegovina. After taking part in the work in what is most certainly the most important and the most influential committee of the European Parliament, Minister Sacirbegovic went and still is in a meeting with EU Foreign Minister Hans van den Broek. He is trying to find a solution for the current situation in the country.

After Strasbourg, Minister Sacirbegovic will travel to Brussels where he will most probably meet his Belgian counterpart Eric Derydke. On 14 July, he is scheduled to meet NATO Secretary General Willy Claes.

Izetbegovic Tours Free Territories, Meets Corps

AU1107183795 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 11 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] We have just received a report that Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, has been visiting the free territories since yesterday.

At the very beginning of his visit, President Izetbegovic held a meeting with corps commanders, at which they discussed the military situation in the country in great detail.

President Izetbegovic this morning visited army units in the region of Mt. Cemer. President Izetbegovic is accompanied by Army General Rasim Delic, commander of the General Staff, and Sakib Mahmuljin, commander of the 3d Corps.

President Izetbegovic this afternoon attended a meeting of the Club of Bosniak Deputies to the Assembly of the Republic and Federation in Zenica. The Club of Deputies is expected to nominate a person to stand in for Ejup Ganic as acting member of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina and vice president of the Federation. The deputies will also be briefed on the current military-political situation in the country, with special reference to the situation in Srebrenica.

As we report, the session of the Club of Deputies is under way, President Izetbegovic's office reports.

Bicakcic Nominated To Fill In for Injured Ganic

AU1107185195 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 11 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] We have just received a report that at today's session of the Club of Bosniak Deputies to the Assembly of the Republic and Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, which was also attended by Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Army General Rasim Delic, commander of the General Staff of the Army of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, the participants discussed the problems in the performance of the duties of Ejup Ganic, member of the Presidency and vice president of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The Club of Bosniaks concluded that, owing to his injuries, Professor Ganic would not be able to carry out his duties for some time. Edhem Bicakcic was unanimously proposed to carry out the duties of a member of the Presidency of Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina and vice president of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, until Prof. Ganic returns to his regular duties. The Club of Bosniaks has sent a letter to Mr. Ganic, in which it expressed satisfaction with his rapid recovery.

The Club of Bosniaks today also discussed the current military-political situation in the country, and concluded that the operations on the ground are going according to plan.

Karadzic Likens Srebrenica to Western Slavonia

AU1207112295 Paris AFP in English 1103 GMT 12 Jul 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Pale, Bosnia-Herzegovina, July 12 (AFP)—Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic, reacting to a demand from the United Nations, on Wednesday ruled out a withdrawal of his forces from Srebrenica.

"What withdrawal from Serb lands? Srebrenica is our land," he told the press from this Serb stronghold a day after his forces captured the UN-protected Moslem enclave in eastern Bosnia.

Speaking outside Pale Orthodox Church after celebrating a mass for St. Peter, the patron saint of his Serb Democratic Party (SDS), he said: "Why haven't the Croatians withdrawn from western Slavonia?"—a reference to a rebel Serb enclave in eastern Croatia taken by the Croatian Army at the beginning of May.

"NATO has become the ally of the Moslems for the same reason as the UN which gave the order to bomb

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Serb military targets in the zone of Srebrenica. But it was ineffective," added Karadzic.

"Srebrenica is not a protected zone because a zone is protected when the two parties agree to shelter civilians and agree so there are no attacks. That was not the case in Srebrenica," he added.

He told reporters Bosnian Government forces had killed 30 of his men during the last 20 days adding: "That was a situation we could not longer tolerate."

Karadzic said the civilian population could stay or flee the town and claimed a parallel between the case of western Slavonia which he said had been emptied of its Serb population following the Croatian offensive.

"It will be something like western Slavonia but without the massacre of the civilian population. The civilians are safe because our army is very responsible," he declared.

He added bluntly that Dutch UN peacekeepers could either stay or leave the newly captured town.

UN Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali, speaking in Athens, demanded a withdrawal of Bosnian Serb forces as the UN Security Council considered the use of force to recapture the enclave.

On Tuesday, Dutch UN peacekeepers and NATO planes bombing Serb tanks failed to deter the Serb takeover of the enclave, where 40,000 Moslems had been living in appalling conditions. Several thousand were massed around the camp of the Dutch UN peacekeepers Wednesday, but the fate of many was unknown.

Rules Out Force Withdrawal

AU1207095595 Paris AFP in English 0949 GMT 12 Jul 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Pale, Bosnia-Herzegovina, July 12 (AFP)—Bosnian Serb leader Karadzic on Wednesday ruled out a withdrawal of his forces from the eastern enclave of Srebrenica.

"What withdrawal from Serb lands? Srebrenica is our land," he told the press from this Serb stronghold a day after Serb forces overran the UN-protected Moslem enclave in eastern Bosnia.

Mladic on Goals of Srebrenica Operation

LD1207084495 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 2301 GMT 11 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Sarajevo, 11 Jul (SRNA)—Colonel General Ratko Mladic, the commander of the main headquarters of the Serb Republic Army, yesterday told the information service of the main headquarters of the Serb Republic Army that the Serb army has liberated Srebrenica despite NATO air support to the Muslim side.

"In addition to NATO support, the Muslims also seized weapons from UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] which they abundantly used in attacks against Serb soldiers," Mladic warned. [passage omitted]

"The Serb Republic Army operation has not been directed against the innocent Muslim population or UNPROFOR. Our goal is to make Muslim terrorists understand that they can no longer carry out terrorist acts in the area which was given to them owing to the goodwill of the Serb people," Mladic said.

Mladic said that "the Muslim plan to establish a unitary fundamentalist Bosnia-Herzegovina, as promised by Alija Izetbegovic and his foreign supporters, is no longer a realistic option."

SR Minister Advocates Owen-Stoltenberg Plan

LD1107164295 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1534 GMT 11 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Sarajevo, 11 Jul (SRNA)—Aleksa Buha, minister of foreign affairs of the Serb Republic [SR] has expressed hope that today's talks with Portugese ambassador and member of the EU observer mission Jose Manuel da Costa Aresnio could mark the beginning of the peace process in the former Bosnia.

Summing up the results of one hour of talks which were also attended by President of the Serb Republic Radovan Karadzic, Buha said that the Portugese ambassador agreed that the Cutilheiro plan which was offered to the warring sides in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina in May 1992 is the best basis for resolving the crisis.

"However, we also agreed that the Owen-Stoltenberg plan, which in a way grew out of the Cutilheiro's, is equally painful for all three warring sides and that at the present moment it represents the best basis for the resumption of the peace process," the Serb Republic foreign minister said.

Explaining that Ambassador Da Costa Aresnio arrived in Pale primarily as an envoy of Portugal, Buha said he hopes Carl Bildt, EU mediator for negotiations on former Yugoslavia, will be informed about the results of these talks.

"Portugal has understanding for the position of the Serb side and it will be my honor to inform not only my government but also Mr. Bildt about the results of the talks today," the Portugese ambassador said, noting that he fully understands the reasons why the Serbs cannot accept the Contact Group plan.

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Mr. Da Costa Aresnio is the Portugese ambassador to Berlin [as received]. Prior to this he was Portugese ambassador in former Yugoslavia and is considered one of the leading experts on the Balkans.

Serbs Deny Vatican Visit to Banja Luka

LD0807161395 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1529 GMT 8 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Sarajevo, 8 Jul (SRNA)—The Ministry for Religions of the [Bosnian] Serb Republic today decided to withdraw its consent for the visit of a Vatican delegation to Banja Luka in order to protect the dignity of the Serb Republic and the Serb Orthodox Church. [passage omitted]

Priest Comments on Situation

LD1107184195 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 11 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Announcer] Yet another attempt by Papal Nuncio for Bosnia-Herzegovina Monsignor Monterisi to visit Banja Luka has failed. The authorities of the so-called Serb Republic suddenly, and for no justifiable reason, withdrew their consent for his visit.

Our guest this evening is Miljenko Anicic, vicar of the Banja Luka Diocese in Zagreb. Good evening. The situation in Banja Luka is exacerbating daily when it comes to the non-Serb population. The Serbs are not allowing anybody, the papal nuncio included, to visit this town. How do you interpret this?

[Anicic] The Serbs have made his visit conditional on a visit by Herzegovina Bishop Eutanazije to the territory controlled by Croatian Defense Council. Herzeg-Bosnia had granted permission for his visit. However, a misunderstanding arose with regard to the place where he was to cross the border. The bishop was waiting at one spot, not where it had been arranged. The Serbs want some reciprocity in this respect. [passage omitted]

[Announcer] What is the current situation in Banja Luka like? How do you receive reports on the situation there?

[Anicic] Catholic civilians have been exposed to continuous killing. So far, 412 Catholic civilians have been killed in the Banja Luka area, without any fighting there; they were killed in their houses. Let me just give you several examples: Barlovci—28 Catholics killed; Vrbanjci—40 Catholics killed; Bosanska Gradiska—11 Catholics killed; Stara Rijeka—70 Catholics killed. This is an area where not a single criminal was caught. We know the names of the dead people, the time and circumstances of the killing. We know some of the names of the perpetrators.

Another problem is the mobilization. The Serbs have started mobilizing the Croats into the Serb Army—about 300 Croats have received call-ups. They have to contact their units until 15 July. Some of them, including minors, have already been drafted. [passage omitted]

Serbs Claim Izetbegovic Maintaining Tension

LD1207110595 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 2257 GMT 11 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Srebrenica, 11 Jul (SRNA)—Alija Izetbegovic, leader of a section of Bosnian Muslims, today faced demands by Hajrudin Avdic, the leader of the Srebrenica Muslims, for permission to negotiate with UNPROFOR and the Serbs in order to enable the people of Srebrenica to move to the territory of their own choice.

In his radio conversation with Avdic, Izetbegovic demanded that Naser Oric and his units maintain the tense military situation in the area at any cost, because, as he put it, such a situation could be used to apply additional pressure on the EU, the United Nations, and NATO.

Izetbegovic rejected any possibility of a deal between Avdic, UNPROFOR, and the Serbs, even though Avdic told him how discontented the people of Srebrenica are because, as he said, "they no longer want to be a bargaining chip in endless and risky political games."

Avdic told Izetbegovic that he and the people of Srebrenica neither could nor want to carry out military orders from Sarajevo, because they are "unreal and their consequences are getting more and more difficult every time."

"If you do not want us alive Alija, then let us negotiate in order to finally reach an agreement. These three years have been enough. We no longer trust anyone," Avdic told Izetbegovic.

However, Izetbegovic stubbornly insists on keeping the military situation tense, giving particular importance to the propaganda dimension of the situation.

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"Tell Catovic [Muslim radio correspondent from Srebrenica] to continue to file his reports on dead and wounded civilians, using the numbers that have already been sent from the headquarters. Haris Silajdzic has launched an offensive in New York," Izetbegovic said.

Avdic asked how long his conscience will permit him to continue in this manner and if he is aware that the Serbs went beserk after Visnjica was razed on Delic's orders. Avdic also warned Izetbegovic that the Dutch know the truth about the number of dead civilians. Izetbegovic said: "You have enough ammunition, and Reis Ceric [head of Islamic community in Bosnia] and Allah will take care of the spiritual side."

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Speaker, Iranian Ambassador Discuss Ties

LD1107163195 Tehran IRNA in English 1400 GMT 11 Jul 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Tehran, July 10, IRNA—Tehran-Zagreb parliamentary ties were discussed in a meeting between Iran's ambassador to Zagreb, Mohammad Javad Asayesh-Zarebi, and the Croatian parliament speaker.

Asayesh conveyed an invitation from Iranian Majlis speaker, Hojjat ol-Eslam 'Ali Akbar Nateq-Nuri, to his Croatian counterpart to visit Tehran.

The Croatian official welcomed the invitation and called for frequent exchange of visits between the two countries' officials. He said the exchange of visits between Tehran and Zagreb will lead to enhancement of bilateral political, economic, cultural and parliamentary ties.

Referring to Iran's outstanding role in bringing proximity between Muslims and Croats, the Croatian parliament speaker called for setting up of a union of Muslims and Croats against the common enemy.

The Croatian official praised Iran's role in improving the economic situation in the country and called as very fruitful the recent visit to Zagreb by Iran's first vice president, Hassan Habibi.

Asayesh underlining the necessity for unity among Muslims and Croats said Iran will support all the agreements between Muslims and Croats.

Iran's Unitive Role Noted

LD0807080295 Tehran IRNA in English 0613 GMT 8 Jul 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, July 8, IRNA—Iran's ambassador to Zagreb Mohammad Javad Asayesh[-Zarebi] in a meeting here Friday with Croat parliament speaker conveyed a message from his Iranian counterpart 'Ali Akbar Nateq-Nuri.

Nateq-Nuri has invited his Croat counterpart to pay a visit to the Islamic Republic of Iran.

Welcoming the invitation, the Croat official termed exchange of visits between officials of the two countries as positive in promotion of political, economic, cultural, and parliamentary relations.

Underlining the significance of the role Iran has played in rapprochement of Muslims and Croats, he stressed the need for the establishment of a joint committee between the two nations to confront the enemy.

He appreciated Iran's efforts in the improvement of economic situation in his country and termed the recent visit of Iranian Vice President Hasan Habibi to his country as fruitful.

Stressing the unity between Muslims and Croats in Bosnia, Asayesh voiced Iran's readiness to support all agreements reached between the two countries.

Presidential Adviser Views Zagreb, Istria Ties

AU1107143295 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 8 Jul 95 p 4

[Interview with Professor Nevio Setic, assistant to the president's adviser for internal policy and secretary of the Council for Istria, by Andrea Latinovic; place and date not given: "IDS Faces Dramatic Internal Crisis"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Istria and its relationship with central authorities, the Istrians' aspirations, which are held to be unrealistic by many in the rest of Croatia, whereas some people consider the policy of the Istrian Democratic Congress [IDS] to be courageous and correct, while others think of it as adventurous and harmful, are constantly a hit topic on the stormy Croatian political scene. [passage omitted]

We talked about this with Professor Nevio Setic, assistant to president's adviser for internal policy and the secretary of the Council for Istria.

How the Council for Istria Functions

[Latinovic] Does the Council for Istria still function? It rarely convenes, and there is no significant information about its work.

[Setic] In a way, the Council functions through the boards. It will probably hold a session this summer.

[Latinovic] Has the Council fulfilled its purpose? It seems, let us be frank, that it has not even got accustomed to existence.

[Setic] It has certainly fulfilled its purpose, because it has given emphasis to the situation in Istria, it has given the feeling that certain things should be improved in line with the Constitution and the laws of the Republic of Croatia, and solutions should be looked for, particularly for the misunderstandings that existed. The Council for Istria has tried to provide a stimulus for economic and cultural development. [passage omitted]

[Latinovic] How do you explain the fact that several members of the Council have left office, either at the very beginning or a month or so later? Almost all of them have said that they did so because they simply did not know what they would be doing in the Council, and what the purpose of the Council actually was.

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[Setic] They left the Council because of their convictions. Whether the Council functions or not depends primarily upon its members themselves. It is just an advisory body that can influence matters and give its vote for something, but it cannot finish a planned job, it can only give it a framework.

Unnatural Tension

[Latinovic] Istria has always been a hot topic in Croatia. How would you describe the present situation in Istria?

[Setic] The events that have occurred in the last years, and especially in the last months, have constantly maintained a kind of tension that, I think, is unnatural. In that way, different political programs of the development of Croatian society in Istria have been trying to oppose each other. The situation at the moment shows an abatement of certain political tensions particularly advocated by the IDS, and a falling off of certain leaders of that party. The IDS is disintegrating from within, and its political program is narrowing, but there is enough political space to realize all the diversities in Croatian society in Istria. It is especially important that a certain balance is established. [passage omitted]

Differences in the IDS

[Latinovic] What would be your definition of IDS, as the leading Istrian party in power? Has IDS diverged from its original and positive program for the development of Istria as a region within the structure of a Croatia of regions, and got stuck in another track, gone into something else, into the extreme, as people like to say?

[Setic] I sense great differences between the IDS elite and the rest of the IDS. A great majority of the IDS members do not know what their leaders are specifically doing, and at the very top itself there are great differences, a searching, different ideas that are frequently not based upon the Constitution and the laws of the Republic of Croatia. It is important to say that Croatian society has its own process of development, which is simply impossible to change. We are in an ascending phase of our maturing, and in this integral development of Istria and Croatia on the whole, there are new ideas presenting various contradictions, which results in tension. [Latinovic] Tell me sincerely, have the authorities taken too severe a step toward Istria, or have both sides made a mistake?

Following the Tradition That Preserved Us

[Setic] By this question we open up the deep problems that exist in Istria. At the beginning of 1990 there were many programs opposing each other. It seems to me that with the program then offered by the IDS, the Croatian state could have never been born. We must follow the vertical on which we have survived, the tradition that has preserved us, by having built a space for all the diversities that exist. Perhaps there were some clumsy moves, because people who did not know about Istria were coming in, but it seems to me that Istrian Croatians is a treasure within the Croatian body, and it is a great experience, because Istrian Croatians are for the first time living in an independent, sovereign Croatia. Until now, they had always been within some state communities. We should not forget that at the time of the first Yugoslavia, Istria remained outside, and that Istrian Croatians reintegrated themselves back within Croatia in 1943 during the course of the struggle for national liberation. They also showed full responsibility and maturity during the Liberation war. [passage omitted]

Exemplary Relations Between Croatians and Italians

[Latinovic] Is there a problem with the Italian community in Istria?

[Setic] Talking about minorities, we must say that there are more than 20 minorities living in Croatia. Istrian Croatians live in coexistence with the Italians and have good relations with them. Of course, I think every minority has certain problems, how to organize themselves, and so on. I think they are well organized, they have certain problems, but I think that the concern that the Italian minority cannot assert its identity should be discarded. The relations that exist between Croatians and Italians should serve as an example to others, and should be promoted on a constant basis, and make use of what is allowed by the Constitution and the law. My assessment is that these relations are exemplary, although sometimes there are attempts at manipulations by those who try to use the Italian minority for their own objectives.

Poll on Transformation, Privatization, Crime

95BA0275A Zagreb HRVATSKI OBZOR in Serbo-Croatian 5 Jun 95 p 29

[Unattributed article: "Transformation Unfair, Former Communists in the Lead"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The process of the transformation and privatization of former socialist property is a significant problem in all postcommunist societies, which they are facing with more or less success, often even in contradiction to the prevailing public opinion about the method and purpose of the implementation of that privatization. In Croatia, the process of transformation and privatization has been received by the public

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with suspicions about embezzlement, illegal enrichment, and so forth.

That opinion is also predominant in a telephone poll that was conducted for OBZOR on 29 and 31 May with a sample of 450 respondents from all the Croatian zupanijas. Specifically, 63.3 percent of those polled believe that the process of transformation and privatization in Croatia is not going in the right direction; even more respondents (73.8 percent) believe that the transformation and privatization to date cannot be said to be fair and to benefit the welfare of all of Croatia.

The assertion that the people have been left out of the transformation, and that individuals have enriched themselves through it, is correct in the opinion of 61.6 percent of the respondents, and another 30.7 percent consider it partially correct.

There are 26.2 percent who think that there is as much abuse of political power and crime in the economy as emphasized by certain media and politicians (including opposition ones in the ruling party), 43.3 percent think that there is partly as much, and 23.6 percent think that there is none.

The assertion that former communist leaders mostly kept power in enterprises is correct in the opinion of 43.8 percent of the respondents, 36.4 percent think that that assertion is partly correct, and 13.3 percent think that it is incorrect.

Is the process of transformation and privatization in Croatia going in the right direction?	
Yes	25.6 percent
No	63.3 percent
Don't know	11.1 percent

Can the transformation and privatization to date be said to be fair and to benefit the welfare of all of Croatia?	
Yes	15.1 percent
No	73.8 percent
Don't know	11.1 percent

Do you think there is as much abuse of political power and crime in the economy as emphasized by certain media and politicians?	
Yes	26.2 percent
Partly	43.3 percent
No	23.6 percent
Don't know	6.9 percent

What do you think about the assertion that the people have been left out of the transformation and that individuals have enriched themselves from it?	
True	61.6 percent
Partly true	30.7 percent
False	4.4 percent
Don't know	3.3 percent

What do you think about the assertion that the former communist leaders have mostly retained power in enterprises, either as managers or as the new owners?	
True	43.8 percent
Partly true	36.4 percent
False	13.3 percent
Don't know	6.5 percent

Krajina Serbs Claim Army Concentrating on Border

AU1107203495 Korenica Srpski Radio Korenica in Serbo-Croatian 0500 GMT 11 July 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The Croatian Army continues to concentrate troops along the borders with the Republic of Serb Krajina [RSK] as the RSK Army General Staff has informed the UN command on several occasions, stated the information service of the RSK Army General Staff last night.

This time, the Croats have engaged young soldiers, with recruits from Sibenik being transferred to Livno with the aim of attacking the Republic of Serb Krajina in the direction of the Dinara region, says a statement carried by ISKRA.

Speculate on Fall Campaign

LD1107124595 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1128 GMT 11 Jul 95

[Report by Nikola Stanojevic]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, July 11 (TANJUG)—Croatia's never-ending war threats are this time accom-

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panied by the massing of troops on the border with the Republic of Serb Krajina.

UN officials in Zagreb have repeatedly warned that the situation has acquired alarming proportions, with large-scale army manoeuvres in the area of separation lines threatening to turn into an armed conflict, specifically in sector north and sector south.

Croatia's UN Ambassador Mario Nobilo has attempted to justify Croatian troops' manoeuvres by describing them as preventive military measures meant to prevent any surprises.

Just how valid his statement is proves his explanation that Croatia has activated part of its military effectives because of Belgrade's growing militancy.

Croatia has created a complex machinery of propaganda messages, fabrications, and ambiguous statements, but also of threats.

Consequently, Croatian President Franjo Tudjman has repeatedly stated that, "Croatia will wait patiently until the expiry of the current UN mandate," which is due to expire in late September.

Attempting to at least partially salvage this year's tourist season, Prime Minister Nikita Valentic has said that no "lightning" actions, like the one in western Slavonia, have been planned. "Patriotic" commentators, however, hope for more actions of the kind. Also, debates are being held on whether Croatia should first attack eastern Slavonia and Baranja and then the Serb Krajina capital of Knin.

Some commentators recommend that Croatia "enter" Knin while the international community is still preoccupied with the situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Others, quoting diplomatic sources, say, however, that Croatia has already secured tacit approval by all "important friends" in solving the Knin issue militarily and "regaining Krajina."

Over the past few days, a number of ranking Croatian officials have been advising their friends to stay away from Zagreb in August and September. Reliable sources say that top officials of the governing Croatian Democratic Union hold a similar position.

There were no such announcements or informations on the eve of Croatia's aggression on western Slavonia. Much attention was paid then to withhold from the public any such information, so that it is rather surprising that "confidential massages" of this kind are appearing also in the press.

Moreover, reliable army sources are being quoted as specifying that the invasion is to take place in late August or early September.

Understandably, all this activity can be part of the Tudjman regime's propaganda that is trying through threats and propaganda actions to secure as firm as possible negotiating position, because it is not very likely that the international community would so easily agree to a military solution to the Knin issue, regardless of Croatia's tried friends. Furthermore, this would mean sparking off a large-scale conflict.

It is possible, however, that the "masters of fabrications," who have shown just how imaginative they can be in the case of western Slavonia by "explaining" that Croatian troops shelled Serb villages at Pakrac after surrounded Serbs had opened fire into the town, are counting on a staged incident which they could blame on Krajina Serbs.

Their attack would thus be justified and their invasion could begin.

Krajina Assembly To Meet Amid 'Growing Split'

AU1107142895 Paris AFP in English 1406 GMT 11 Jul 95

[Unattributed report: "Serb Separatists Divided Over Proposed 'Government'"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, July 11 (AFP)—The so-called parliament of the self-proclaimed Serb separatist republic in Croatia is to vote Wednesday [12 July] on a proposed government whose make-up has widened a growing split between the republic's two rival regions.

The dispute pits Serbs from eastern Slavonia, in the extreme east of Croatia bordering Serbia, against hardline Serb separatists in the southern city of Knin.

Knin is the "capital" of the self-styled republic and fiefdom of the "republic's" president Milan Martic who advocates a strong stance against Zagreb and backs union with Bosnian Serbs under Bosnian Serb strongman Radovan Karadzic.

The session comes six weeks after the body dismissed the former government headed by Borislav Mikelic, who opposed any union with Bosnian Serbs. Mikelic is seen as a moderate close to Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic who tried to help normalize ties between the self-proclaimed Serb Republic of Krajina and Zagreb.

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Wednesday's session is to be held in Mirkovci in eastern Slavonia, which the Knin Serbs feel has been slipping out of their control.

Martic named his former enemy but now ally Milan Babic to head a 16-member "government." But mayors in eastern Slavonia charged in a statement that the list heavily favors the Knin region with key ministries and called for early elections.

Analysts said that a victory of the Knin element would only halt peace talks with Zagreb and reduce the influence of Milosevic in Krajina.

Serb forces opposed to the central authorities in Zagreb currently hold around 20 percent of Croatian territory.

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VMRO-DP Congress Scheduled for Sep

95BA0260C Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 14 May 95 p 4

[Article by K.C.: "Party Congress in September"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *The reason for rescheduling the party congress from June to September; the need for re-examining the VMRO-DP [Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Democratic Party] development concept; the commitment to a liberal-democratic model, which differentiates the parties with the same prefix in their names from each other; the true opposition is in the economy.*

The VMRO-DP will hold its regular congress in the second half of September, although it was initially planned for June. The reason for the rescheduling is the congresses already held by the other political parties, after which VMRO-DP feels a need to reexamine its development concepts. In the absence of solid indications of the further activities of the parties that held congresses, VMRO-DP thinks that there is a high risk in holding its highest party event during this period, and fears that it may not be appropriately received by the public, which is obviously experiencing disappointment with the political parties.

This was announced at yesterday's VMRO-DP news conference, at which its president, Vladimir Golubovski, announced that the congress would promote a comprehensive program aimed at winning the public's trust and overcoming the barriers being raised against its political activity. As a party, it is committed to the well-known model of a Western economy, which assumes that the state's functions are guiding and selective ones in certain sectors of the economy, and that the state's economic policy and functions create the prerequisites for free enterprise and a free attractive market that offers high profits—more precisely, a model that assumes low taxation, liberal laws, monetary and other financial transactions, and the development of free trade. Likewise, at the congress the VMRO-DP wants to assume a leadership position among the opposition parties by proposing a general strategy for the development of the opposition in Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM].

At the news conference yesterday, it was noted that the same prefix in the name of the VMRO parties no longer means identical and close positions on the most fundamental issues, and VMRO-DP thinks that the designation of the political model is more fundamental than anything else that can be expressed as a declaration with respect to national interests. The fact that VMRO-DP is committed to a liberal-democratic model differentiates the two parties from each other, with enormous difficulties assumed for communication during the coming period. VMRO-DP thinks that the true opposition is located in the economy, which is perhaps surprising as a party position, and it is joining the management structure in advocating more rapid changes.

Closing of Duty-Free Shops, State Revenues

95BA0260B Skopje VECER in Macedonian 25 May 95 p 7

[Article by V. Bogoev: "The Government Is Pondering, and the Neighbors Are Profiting"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *The owners claim that after the closure of the duty-free shops, every month about 15 million German marks [DM] have been flowing into our northern neighbor's treasury. The government is not denying that the Serbian duty-free shops are profiting from this government measure, but it is preparing new regulations.*

The temporary closure (nine months ago) of 11 duty-free shops on the border with the FRY [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia], according to numerous reports, is continuously filling Serbia's state treasury. For the time being, there are no specific and official data on how much cash foreign currency has "emigrated" from Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] and moved to Serbia. Nevertheless, it is being said more and more loudly by various sources, both government ones and the Duty-Free Shop Group at the Macedonian Chamber of Commerce, that this involves enormous amounts of German marks.

No one can predict with certainty what will happen to these free shops, and what their future will be like, at least for the time being—neither the government, nor the Chamber, nor even less their owners. What is quite definite and certain, however, is that as long as this uncertainty continues, enormous amounts of foreign exchange are flowing into the "pocket" of our northern neighbor instead of into our state treasury.

Calculations

According to the calculations of the owners of the closed duty-free shops, during the months before the closure of these free shops, their foreign exchange earnings from foreign citizens amounted to DM95 million, of which, according to them, the majority, about DM60 million, was earned precisely at the 11 duty-free shops located on the FRY border. Resigned to the government's decision on closing their free shops and even more to the postponement of their reopening, the owners are pointing out that this government measure has prevented a foreign exchange influx into Macedonia that amounted

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to as much as DM500,000 daily (in August 1994), and that about DM15 million is leaving our country every month.

The owners claim that this measure directly benefits the Serbian enterprises that have duty-free shops on the border with Macedonia, and that this measure has redirected trade from the Macedonian free shops to the ones in the FRY. According to them, this has not only blocked the influx of foreign exchange into Macedonia, but has also made it possible for foreign exchange to flow out from our country to the FRY.

The Duty-Free Shop Group at the Macedonian Chamber of Commerce does not deny that the closure of the Macedonian free shops is profiting precisely the Serbian ones, but nevertheless points out that the figures on the exodus of foreign exchange should be taken with a certain amount of reservation because they are rough calculations by the owners. According to the group, it also does not agree with certain statements by the owners. The group emphasizes that so far, on several occasions, it has sent written inquiries to the competent government ministries about how far the work on reopening the duty-free shops has progressed, but, according to the group, so far it has not received a specific answer.

Solution as Soon as Possible

Macedonian Government officials say that the Finance Ministry is working intensively, among other things on a plan for determining the amount of foreign currency that has left our country since the closure of the Macedonian duty-free shops on the northern border. The government is not denying that the Serbian duty-free shops are the ones profiting from all of this "status quo" situation, but at the same time it is pointing out that intensive work is being done on preparing regulations for the reopening of the Macedonian shops.

The government's spokesman, Minister Djuner Ismail, says that there is no question of a conflict between the government and the owners of the shops, although, as he emphasizes, the public may get that impression. Ismail emphasizes that the temporary closure of these duty-free shops occurred because of partial irregularity in the operation of some, creating negative public reactions, and that is why such a decision was made, after extensive analyses by the government. The essence of the problem, according to Minister Ismail, is the legal vacuum, i.e., the legally unregulated relationships precisely in this sphere. He emphasized that things would be settled in the very near future and that for that purpose several government ministries were intensively reviewing certain draft solutions.

The reopening of the duty-free shops on the northern border, as we were informed by the government, is conditional, among other things, upon the land-use planning of the border crossings, and the determination of the border zone. As we were told, however, the land-use planning of the border crossings with our northern neighbor will have to wait for definitive determination of the border with the FRY. Options are being circulated regarding the formation of a public enterprise that will manage the free shops. More and more vocal, however, is the government's consideration of issuing concessions for a fairly long period for the duty-free shops' operation. Which option will prevail remains to be seen.

Whatever happens, the government and the owners of the free shops are in agreement on one thing: The case of the 11 closed duty-free shops on the northern border has to be solved quickly. Otherwise, regardless of the subjective or objective reasons and shortcomings, legal vacuums and ambiguities, it may easily happen that our country will lose much more than foreign exchange earnings.

[Box, p 7]

Cigarette Sales

The owners claim that in the last five months before the closure of the duty-free shops, DM15 million in cigarettes were sold in all of the Macedonian duty-free shops. They say that within this amount, the duty-free shops on the border with the FRY that are now closed sold DM13 million worth of cigarettes.

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Military Agreement Signed With Portugal

LD1207114495 Warsaw PAP in Polish 0922 GMT 12 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Warsaw, 12 Jul—Zbigniew Okonski and Antonio J.F.Lopez, the defense ministers of Poland and Portugal, today signed an agreement on bilateral military cooperation. The Portuguese defense minister supports Polish aspirations to join NATO.

The signing of the agreement was preceded by talks between the two ministers on security and nuclear arms control in Europe, and on future joint exercises within the Partnership for Peace program. The agreement on military cooperation is a "framework document which will have to be filled," Okonski explained. Both sides are interested in exchanging experience in military training, command systems, military topography, and the operations of air and naval forces. "Portugal's support for our attempts to join NATO has a specific and significant political dimension," the Polish minister stressed in conversation with correspondents.

Portugal is a founder member of NATO. Its armed forces number 50,700 troops and 210,000 reservists. At present Portuguese troops are taking part in peace-keeping missions in Mozambique and Croatia.

Developments in Polish-German Border Cooperation

MM1107154795 Szczecin GLOS SZCZECINSKI in Polish 5 Jul 95 p 9

[Article by Marek Czarny: "Close Contacts at the Border"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Two factors have contributed to the change in Szczecin's image as seen from the overall national perspective: the 50th anniversary of postwar Polish presence in the Western Territories which is currently being celebrated, and the integration of the European Twelve. The first circumstance naturally encourages us to reflect on the difficult past; the second is directed toward the shaping of a future in which the Polish- German border territories will constitute a bridging platform between the West and the rest of Poland.

Although much has changed for the better in relations between the Germans and the Poles, much still remains to be done. Changes are needed in the ways each nation thinks of each other; we need to do away with stereotyped notions, build up confidence between people and institutions, alter political and administrative structures in both countries, and resolve many legislative problems. None of this will take place quickly or easily.

The 1991 agreement between our countries is entitled "Treaty of Good-Neighborly Relations and Friendly Cooperation Between the Polish Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany." It is not only my opinion that this sounds as if our respective governments thought they could just decree the desired good-neighborly relations and good cooperation. But the actual Polish-German cooperation will be decided less by politicians' wishful thinking and their signatures and more by people who will take mutually advantageous action together. That particular stage of tightening bilateral contacts always occurs first in the border areas.

"You are in a way different from the rest of us," is an opinion I often hear from people coming from other parts of Poland. The difference is seen in a positive light and even envied a little by our compatriots resident away from the border territories. I believe the issue would make a very interesting subject for sociological studies.

For many postwar years the Odra-Nysa border was a troublesome and ill-starred dividing line between two states. On its western side lived the refugees and the expellees, on the eastern side—people resettled from the [prewar] eastern border territories, who had had no earlier contacts with the Germans. Although the collapse of the communist regime on our side and of the Berlin Wall on the other side of the border accelerated the pace of the transformations, both sides found that they needed to make up for the lost time, and that need was further accentuated by the integration of the European Union. It now looks as if we have put the years of poor and stumbling cooperation behind us. "It is a pity that our two countries have lost so much time before finally embarking on true cooperation," Brandenburg premier Manfred Stolpe admitted frankly at a press conference attended by Polish journalists.

So what should we do next? First, we must see reality as it truly is: warts and all, rough and unadorned.... Second, we must remember that cooperation and rapprochement are long-term processes which require particularly solid and steadfast work. Third, relations between our two sides—which are so different as regards our respective experience and mentality—require unconditional equality between the two partners. Each of these requirements is as essential as the other two. The third goal in particular needs firm and committed support from both governments and the kind of intergovernmental agreements which would give parishes and their respective administrative units sufficient powers to enable them to carry out efficient and effective border cooperation. The skills and talents required by the people who will be involved in shaping the policies for the border regions are not a matter of indifference, either. Even today we have no shortage of exemplary public and individual initiatives aimed at fostering cooperation between the two areas.

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At times these give evidence of more goodwill than actual tangible results, but it is such initiatives springing "from below" which can best lead to an eventual lasting rapprochement.

The Polish language has adopted only a limited number of terms and phrases from German. Among that limited number is the word "Grenze," which is of Slavonic origin. It figures in Polish as "granica," and in Czech as "hranice." Until recently we used the phrase "border cooperation." During the past couple of years or so that particular phrase has undergone a change. Official government documents increasingly use the term "cross-border cooperation," which is very close to the German word *grenzueberschreitend.*

Are we, then, getting closer to each other? We certainly are.

Trade Unions Head Defends Commercialization Law

WS1107131895 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 11 Jul 95 p 2

[Article by "B.I.W.": "Manicki to Krzaklewski: The Commercialization Law Does Not Violate the 'Pact'; More Beneficial and Just"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The adoption of the Commercialization and Privatization Law by the Sejm does not violate the "Pact of the State Company In the Process of Transformation," proves Maciej Manicki, deputy chairman of the All-Poland Trade Unions Agreement, Democratic Left Alliance deputy, and reviewer of the draft of the aforementioned law. He sent a letter claiming this to Solidarity Chairman Marian Krzaklewski.

The Presidium of the Solidarity National Council decided on 4 July that it would enter collective bargaining with the government. The reason is the Commercialization Law which, according to the trade unions, violates provisions of the "Pact," prohibits employee participation in the transformation of their companies, improperly defines the principles of distributing shares among workers, and allows state officers to privatize companies centrally without consulting the employees. Solidarity has appealed to the Senate and the president to veto the law.

Manicki claims the Commercialization Law is a step further toward the execution of employee rights than the "Pact" and serves its implementation. The deputy stresses that the law "has nothing to do with and is in no way instrumental for the implementation of the so-called mass privatization project," which has been "unequivocally rejected," in response to firm protests from the trade unions, including Solidarity.

The law is not an obstacle to the implementation of mass enfranchisement, claims Manicki. In the course of developing it, the parliament included in it "a provision of the current Privatization Law allowing to issue privatization coupons which could be later used as part of the payment for shares of companies established in the result of transformation. (...) If this is to be at all possible, it is necessary to commercialize the companies first."

In his letter to Krzaklewski, Manicki stressed that the law does not infringe provisions of the "Pact," which guarantee the employees the right to decide on the privatization method and does not imply the dissolution of workers' councils. "On the contrary, it delegates more authority to the Workers Council as far as privatization processes are concerned," and does not deprive the unionists of the privilege of taking part in the activities of supervisory boards. "It only prohibits concurrent membership in a supervisory board and the company's trade union organization. It is inadmissible for a member of the trade union board that is a side in collective bargaining (e.g. on wages) to be simultaneously a member of the supervisory board that the unionist board is subject to. It should be added that the law does not deprive trade union officers of the right to run in elections for supervisory board members. It only provides that the trade union activist who is elected to the supervisory board must either suspend his union membership or resign. This does by no means lead to weakening the trade union."

"The Commercialization Law," concludes Manicki, "does not deprive workers' councils in regions with a high unemployment rate of their privileges. On the contrary. Neither does it violate the Constitution."

PC To Field Own Presidential Candidate

WS1107143295 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 11 Jul 95 p 2

[Article by Marcin Dominik Zdort: "Center Accord Will Field Own Candidate; Lech Kaczynski for President"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Lech Kaczynski, former president of the Supreme Chamber of Control [NIK], will most probably be the Center Accord's [PC] presidential candidate. An initial agreement on the issue was reached during a session of the Chief Council of the PC on Saturday, in the presence of heads of the voivodship party councils.

Almost Unanimously

PC leaders decided that the party will field its own candidate in the presidential elections. The Chief Council

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members want this candidate to be Lech Kaczynski, former NIK president and the PC chairman's brother, but the final decision formally rests with the Chief Political Council that is to meet over the next few days. "We held a vote during the Chief Council meeting, and Lech Kaczynski's name was accepted almost unanimously—there were only two abstentions," we were told by PC Deputy Chairman Krzysztof Tchorzewski, one of the most ardent supporters of the former NIK president's candidacy. Tchorzewski says he has suggested Kaczynski's candidacy many times and pleaded with Jaroslaw Kaczynski to approve it for a long time. "The president must be a theoretician, and Lech Kaczynski, a doctor habilitated in law, meets that requirement, pairing it with the practical experience he gained as deputy chairman of Solidarity and president of NIK," says Tchorzewski.

"Indeed, a preliminary agreement was reached on Saturday as to who our candidate shall be," Jaroslaw Kaczynski told RZECZPOSPOLITA, but refused to confirm or deny whether it will be his brother. Lech Kaczynski, asked to comment on the PC leaders' decision, avoided giving a straight answer on whether he will accept the proposal. "It is still to early to talk about this," was all he said.

Bargaining Chip

The PC leaders claim that the number of presidential candidates on the right is already so great that it will not be known until the very last minute who stands a real chance of playing any significant role in the elections. "St. Catherine's Covenant has three candidates (Hanna Gronkiewicz-Waltz, Jan Olszewski, and Leszek Moczulski), the Christian-National Union will probably be torn between two (Lech Walesa and Hanna Gronkiewicz-Waltz), Adam Strzembosz has become a particularist candidate and lost a large share of the popularity he initially enjoyed," one of the participants of the PC Council meeting held on Saturday told RZECZPOSPOLITA. Under the circumstances, the Chief Council concluded that it cannot harm the right much by fielding its own candidate. "This campaign will be a test for all. We shall see in September who gathers 100,000 signatures (which is not an easy task during the summer holiday season), and who does best in the opinion polls," says our interlocutor. "We hope it is Lech Kaczynski."

Even if the former NIK president does not stand any chance of success, the PC leaders hope that the potential voter support he can win will be a bargaining chip in negotiations with the remaining rightist hopefuls.

Why Own Candidate

As we may remember, PC was the first party to come forth with the candidacy of Adam Strzembosz. Thanks to the efforts of Jaroslaw Kaczynski, it was possible to form a coalition of rightist groupings focused on the candidacy of the first president of the Supreme Court. Very shortly, however, the PC leaders came to a conclusion that Professor Strzembosz is appealing primarily to the right wing of the Freedom Union [UW], that his platform is contradictory to their party's program, and, most important of all, that he has begun constructing a political formation which would ultimately lead to the dissolution of PC. Thus PC and Strzembosz parted ways, blaming each other for the split. Kaczynski's party issued a declaration on the need to find a new candidate for the whole post-Solidarity camp, UW included. The effort, however, failed in the end—talks that had been scheduled earlier were called off. PC therefore decided to field a candidate of its own.

Kuron Outlines Platform in Campaign Swing

WS1107125395 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 10 Jul 95 p 2

[Report by "JAK" and "BCz" in Kielce, and "JPP" in Kazimierz Nad Wisla and Pulawy: "Kuron Tours the Country: Let Us Talk About Poland"]

[FBIS Translated Text] "We should start our discussion with what Poland is to become over the next few years. I will suggest this to the presidential candidates," said Jacek Kuron at a meeting with self-government activists, trade unionists, and entrepreneurs held on Saturday in Starachowice.

He voiced assurances that he did not come to canvass for votes but to hear those "who have a lot to say about Poland and their regions."

Saturday in Starachowice

According to Kuron, the future president should enter into a social agreement of sorts: "He should state what his duty is and state what he expects from those who vote for him."

According to the Freedom Union candidate, apart from trying to enter the EU and NATO we should also cooperate with the East. "The geopolitical location that has always been our curse may now be our opportunity. We can be a bridge joining East and West. I wish to turn this into a program for Poland," said Kuron.

He often repeated that we need an "educational offensive." He spoke of the need for incessant education for adults. He claims schools should instill entrepreneurship, teach how to operate in a market economy and

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how to seek career opportunities, and prepare people for having to change jobs.

The costs of the "offensive" are to be covered by revenues from privatization. Whatever remains is to be allocated to pension funds. Kuron is against privatization coupons and other forms of handing out national assets.

Kuron later met with residents of Starachowice. The hall of the housing administration barely held more than 200 people.

Almost everyone approached Kuron with their complaints. They shouted, threatened, and stormed, only to ask for his advice and autographs in the end.

"Father Jankowski is a real Pole. We want our president to be truly Polish," said a former employee of Star [former truck factory]. Everyone applauded. "All this talk about the Jews and the fact that you support Father Jankowski proves you do not agree with the episcopate's criticism of the father's words," explained Kuron [reference to alleged anti-Semitic sermon delivered by the priest].

Those gathered blamed Kuron for not supporting the death penalty. "Courts often erred in sentencing people to death," said Kuron in self-defense. "The death penalty is barbarism," he added.

He was also asked whether it makes sense to establish powiats [administrative units comprising several gminas]. "Powiats are for those who want social control over the administration and state officers, for those who want to decide for themselves. If somebody does not want to control the administration, what he needs is an emperor," said the presidential candidate.

Sunday in Kazimierz

On Sunday, in sweltering heat, Jacek Kuron spoke for two and a half hours in the market in Kazimierz. He smoked only two cigarettes. He did not have his famous thermos bottle with him, but drank huge amounts of mineral water.

He spoke a lot about social security: "Minister Miller is making new promises to senior citizens, while what we really need is reform of the entire old age pension system. I know how it should be done." He presented a three-step old-age pension plan: the basic pension which would be subsidized by the state (for the most impoverished), capital, and "optional" (everyone decides individually how large their premiums will be). The social security system must be introduced regardless of politicians and the political situation.

During a meeting held later in Pulawy, Kuron let it be known that he will not dissolve parliament if he is elected president. "The strength of the president lies in social backing. A president who has it has great influence on parliament and the government."

Kuron claims the current presidential prerogatives are adequate.

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Greece's Papoulias on Greek-Romanian Relations

NC1207111895 Athens Elliniki Radhiofonia Radio Network in Greek 0400 GMT 12 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] While in Bucharest, Foreign Minister Karolos Papoulias will discuss the Balkans situation with Romanian officials. Also, he will highlight the Bosnian crisis and the further development of Greek-Romanian relations.

Papoulias was received yesterday by Romanian President Ion Iliescu. He also had talks with his Romanian counterpart Teodor Malescanu. During a meeting of the two delegations yesterday afternoon, Romania asked Greece to undertake the initiative for closer cooperation among Athens, Sofia and Bucharest on transportation and infrastructure issues, so that an EU subsidy can be secured. Both sides agreed that tripartite cooperation on land transportation, telecommunications, and energy has great regional importance—from the Danube to the Aegean and from the Aegean to the Black Sea.

Papoulias briefed his Romanian counterpart on his country's position on The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia [FYROM], the Cyprus issue, and on Greek-Turkish relations. The foreign minister also announced the official visit of President Konstandinos Stefanopoulos to Bucharest in November.

Melescanu on Inclusion of 1201 in Treaty

AU1107154995 Bucharest CURIERUL NATIONAL in Romanian 4 Jul 95 p 3

[Unattributed report: "We Are Neither in Favor of nor Against Recommendation 1201"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Romania is "neither in favor nor against" Recommendation 1201 of the Council of Europe's Parliamentary Assembly. Rather it is seeking the optimum way of reflecting it in the Romanian-Hungarian treaty, Romania's Foreign Minister Teodor Melescanu told the MEDIAFAX news agency. "The Recommendation includes very many ideas and principles to which we subscribed when we joined the Council of Europe, within the limits of two conditions that have to be very well understood—our judicial system and our material capabilities," Melescanu added. He mentioned that the European document must be regarded as a "source of inspiration" in negotiating the Romanian-Hungarian treaty, but that at the same time "issues of substance that the Romanian side cannot accept in any way" have to be defined, especially the issue of territorial autonomy on the basis of ethnic criteria and the principle of collective rights for minorities. The head of Romanian diplomacy deplored the "emotional approach" to the issue of Recommendation 1201 that continues to persist both at the level of the political class as well as at the level of public opinion. "It is as if I were asked to speak out in favor of or against the 'railroad timetable.' I might not like two or three routes, but this does not mean that the 'railroad timetable' is not useful" the Romanian foreign minister added. He criticized the proposal to avoid the "1201 issue" by omitting to include any reference to it in the treaty, while maintaining its basic provisions. "If I do not refer in any way to Recommendation 1201, but I include all its basic provisions in the treaty, what does the Romanian side gain?" Melescanu asked. A number of Hungarian officials who have recently visited Romania noted that the term "Recommendation 1201" has acquired "a demonic character" in the eyes of the Romanian public, and suggested that it should not be mentioned as such in the basic treaty.

According to those officials, the problem could be solved by incorporating the text of the recommendation in the treaty. Similar proposals have been put forward by the Democratic Party and the Social Democratic Party of Romania.

Article Claims Iliescu Serves Moscow's Interests

AU1207062595 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 7 Jul 95 p 3

[Article by Marius Ghilezan: "High Studies"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Despite pressure exerted by the authorities, the daily ZIUA continues to publish its disclosures on the issue of Ion Iliescu's affiliation with the KGB during his years as a student. The idea of Iliescu having been associated with the repression bodies of the Soviet communist regime is not a new one. Actually it was launched many years ago. So just how much does it matter whether documents do exist or not proving his belonging to the most odious political police of the world? One does not have to start digging in the archives (which are bolted anyway) to discover a reality that is quite visible with the naked eye. When they erected their utopian tower, the citizens of Babel did not give a single thought to the uselessness of the building they were erecting. Let us be serious: When Ion Iliescu left for Moscow to study there, his goal was not at all to become a great energy industry expert. His dream went beyond the wishes of any expert who seeks fulfillment in his career. The goal he actually set for himself was much higher and in the political field.

In the fifties, while Romania's prisons were full of young people who had lost their freedom because they had stuck to their moral principles, one young man, no older than they were, left for Moscow to study. He had been sent there by the UTC [Communist Youth Union] Central Committee to attend "high studies." Working

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very diligently, he soon became the secretary of the Union committee of the Romanian students and would-be Ph.D.'s in the USSR. All this happened while in Romania they were eliminating the "deviationists" and the power was in the hands of Stalin's boot-lickers. Later on Ceausescu did not marginalize him because of his "intellectualist" stance, but rather because of his loyalty to Moscow.

Following the terrible coup staged in December 1989, he, who used to be the "marginalized" one before, became president of the country, and in everything he has done since then in his capacity as head of the state, he has displayed obedience to the Kremlin. Instead of denouncing the consequences of the Ribbentrop-Molotov pact, he signed the Friendship and Good Neighborliness Treaty with the USSR. He considers Bessarabia as just a "friendly neighboring country." Trying to please the masters whom he owes his education, he keeps absolutely silent about the Romanian national treasure illegally kept in Moscow.

During the past period of five years he managed to discredit the idea of capitalism (which is what they originally wanted in December 1989 in Timisoara) and made the members of the communist party clique rich. He preserved the system of everything being run by the government in national economy. He made it possible for all the former activists at all levels of the communist party and state to rejoin the bodies ruling the country. Being loyal to the idea of class struggle, he made the Romanian workers turn against the intellectuals. Could anyone say that all this did not please Moscow? During all his presidential terms he did nothing else but to preserve and further the antinational concept of the fatality, the servitude of our small nation in front of our huge neighbor to the east. Has Romania, in its entire history, ever been more of a vassal to Russia than now? Never! I do not agree with those who claim that we should build up Iliescu's image as a pure breed Westerner, just for the sake of our integration within NATO and the European Union. In the plan for NATO integration there is no paragraph whatsoever stipulating what sort of a man the leaders of such states should be. What does matter here is the economic, military, and political performance of the countries seeking admittance, which should all meet the standards of the alliance. Nothing else counts....

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Federal

UN Official Hopes for Lifting of Sanctions

LD1207111495 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1023 GMT 12 Jul 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, July 12 (TANJUG)—Chairman of the UN Sanctions Committee Emilio Cardenas has told Serbian radio and television that he would like that the sanctions against Yugoslavia were lifted. Cardenas said he hoped this was not only his wish, stressing that before the sanctions were lifted, the reasons for their imposition had to be removed. This basically means that the international community wants the Yugoslav Government to cooperate with it in its efforts to restore peace in the Balkans, he said.

Cardenas said if Belgrade stopped assisting militarily the Serbs across the border (in Bosnia) and if it stopped helping them, he believed that it would be normal to expect the international community to add to the flexibility it had already shown. Yugoslavia severed all links with the Bosnian Serb Republic in early August, 1994, closing the border for all but relief aid deliveries, which has been repeatedly confirmed by the international observer mission deployed on the border. The decision to close the border was prompted by Bosnian Serb authorities' failure to accept the Contact Group plan for the territorial division of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Cardenas said the international community must stop all who backed the war. He said that was why the sanctions against Yugoslavia and the arms ban on all of the former Yugoslavia had been imposed. He said certain behaviour had led to the imposition of the sanctions against Yugoslavia, calling at the same time on the country to help restore peace in the Balkans.

Asked why the U.N. Security Council has not punished Croatia for evident crimes committed in western Slavonia, Cardenas said the United Nations had humanitarian experts in the region who had sent preliminary reports. He described as deplorable all that had happened in western Slavonia.

Jovic: Sanctions Contrary to Interests of Peace

LD1107173895 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1444 GMT 11 Jul 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, July 11 (TANJUG)—Insisting on sanctions against Yugoslavia and putting forth new conditions ran directly contrary to interests of peace, it was said Tuesday in Belgrade during talks between a multi-party delegation of Yugoslav Parliament and an Indian parliamentary delegation, headed by Rabi Raj.

Yugoslav policy of peace proceeds from objective possibilites and wishes to reach a compromise even at the cost of territorial concessions on the part of the Serbs in Bosnia so as to achieve peace and end blooodshed, said Yugoslav Parliament lower house foreign policy committee chairman Borisav Jovic.

Yugoslavia was permanently committed to peace and for this reason accepted all the plans so far, although it was not always fully satisfied with them. This was the reason also for severing relations with the leadership of Bosnian Serbs, the Indian parliamentarians were told.

The Indian side stated full understanding for the Yugoslav stands, especially welcoming the commitment to a peaceful solution and promised full support to Yugoslavia.

The secession of the former Yugoslav Republic, carried out forcibly and with the help of outside factors, resulted in conflict and war, it was set out during the talks.

The Serb people had no wish to reconcile with the breaking up of Yugoslavia, a process totally contrary to the European tendencies, and stated a wish to continue living together with Montenegro on one-half of the territory of the former Yugoslavia, said Jovic.

Also, at the referendums in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia, the Serb people came out against leaving a common state which was its constitutional right. The European Community, unfortunately, did not acknowledge this but insisted on the breaking up of the country, said Jovic.

As Serbs and Montenegrins would not reconcile with this, Yugoslavia was punished and even accused of aggression, although it was clear it never took part in the conflicts nor were there any on its territory, underlined Jovic.

Government Denies Tightening Macedonian Border

LD1107202995 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1513 GMT 11 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 11 Jul (TANJUG)—The Federal Government and its ministry have not made any decision or adopted any other measure tightening the existing regulations governing border crossings between the FRY [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia] and the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia [FYROM], says a government statement issued today in connection with reports in certain information media about the entry of citizens of the FYROM into the FRY, particularly during the tourist season.

On the contrary, for the sake of open borders and a positive influence on the development of tourism, the

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conclusions and decisions of the Federal Government have as far as possible liberalized the entry and stay of foreigners in our country. To this end, last week the Federal Government decided at a regular session to further simplify and to speed up the issue of visas and tourist permits for foreigners from countries with which Yugoslavia has introduced reciprocal visa requirements. The Federal Secretariat for Information's statement says that it can be clearly and unequivocally seen from this that the Federal Government has not introduced any tightening of conditions for entry into our country by foreigners from any country, including citizens of the FYROM. The confusion most likely arose from the statement of the FYROM Ministry of Internal Affairs that from 1300 on 5 July "citizens of the FYROM can no longer travel to the FRY with an identity card, but only with a passport," the statement says in conclusion.

Serbia

EU Envoy: Eastern Croatia To Join Serbia Soon

AU1107170595 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 11 Jul 95 p 7

[Article by Snezana Beric: "'Sector East' To Become Part of Serbia Soon"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Erdut, 10 Jul—"In my view, the developments are going in the direction of Sector East, that is, eastern Slavonia, Baranja, and western Srem, spontaneously becoming part of Serbia since the ties are more than obvious, from economic ones to military and social organization ones. I think that this region in the near future will become part of Serbia in a peaceful way, through negotiations with the Croats and the blessing of the international community."

This was said today by Jose Manuel de Kosta Arsenio, Portuguese ambassador to the European Union, after his talks with Milan Milanovic, deputy defense minister in the Republic of Serbian Krajina. He explained that this opinion was based on the analysis of "political trends that are leading to the political solution to the situation" and that everything would depend on the negotiations to be conducted under the auspices of the international community.

Great Concern

Asked whether, after the increasingly frequent statements, even by some official representatives of certain countries, to the effect that the decision to recognize Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina was wrong, there was a possibility that the international community could rectify that mistake by declaring that recognition null and void, the Portuguese ambassador said:

"Under the circumstances, I do not believe that the international community is ready to take a step back. It is only in the case of eastern Slavonia, Baranja, and western Srem that I think that the international community will, after negotiations, agree with the change in Croatia's borders, the same borders it previously recognized."

He also expressed great concern over the massing of Croatian forces toward the Republic of Serbian Krajina, in Sectors North and South, but he added that he was not surprised that Croatia was exerting such pressure after the successful capturing of Sector West.

However, he stressed that these were different cases since "Sector West had no chance of survival, but as far as I know, Sectors North and South are well defended by the units of the army of the Republic of Serbian Krajina. Of course, Sector East is now in Croatia, but I think that Croatia will be relieved if this part was to be separated from Croatian territory. However, it will be somewhat harder with Sectors North and South," Portuguese Ambassador Arsenio said, adding that certain compromises were essential to any agreement, but that he could not guess what Croatia might ask for in return.

Unilateral Decision

Commenting on the creation of the Rapid Reaction Force and its dispatch to the former Bosnia-Herzegovina, Ambassador Arsenio expressed his explicit disagreement with this, and stressed that this was "a unilateral decision" by some countries, that is, Great Britain, France, The Netherlands, Germany, and Belgium, and that these forces "are not under the auspices of the United Nations or even NATO." It was only after the decision had been made, Ambassador Arsenio said, that these countries sought approval from the United Nations, and "of course the United Nations could not say no, since these countries said that these forces were going to Bosnia-Herzegovina only to protect and assist the Blue Helmets."

Kosovo

Rugova Meets French Official, Urges Mediation

AU1107131095 Pristina KOSOVA DAILY REPORT in English 10 Jul 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] President of the Republic of Kosova, Dr. Ibrahim Rugova, received today in Prishtina [Pristina] Mr. Jean-Louis Puig, first counselor at the French Embassy in Belgrade. The current situation in Kosova was discussed.

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President Rugova said the situation has been aggravating amid the Serbian regime's crackdown on the Albanians, ordinary citizens, and political, humanitarian, and educational activists alike. The political will of the people of Kosovo for independence and neutrality should be the basis on which a solution to the Kosovo issue can be found peacefully through talks mediated by a third authorized party, Dr. Ibrahim Rugova stressed. He pressed for preventive measures in Kosovo, noting that a temporary international civil administration would normalize life and facilitate a negotiated settlement of the Kosovo question.

The French Embassy official, Mr. Jean-Louis Puig, shared an interest in different aspects of the Kosovo reality. He expressed the commitment of France to ensure a just and balanced solution to the Kosovo issue. Jean-Louis Puig handed over a letter the French President Jacques Chirac sent to president of the Republic of Kosovo, Dr. Ibrahim Rugova.

Serb Police Step Up Violence Against Albanians

AU1107163795

[FBIS Editorial Report] Pristina KOSOVA DAILY REPORT in English No. 655 on 10 July carries several reports on Serbian police raiding "dozens of Albanian homes" in Gnjilane villages and the "daily repression" against Albanians in various areas in the province.

It is reported that over the past week, the Serbian police have "stepped up violence" against Albanian residents in Livo i Eperm village in Gnjilane. The Democratic League of Kosova Information Commission in Gnjilane reports that the Serbian police raided "over a dozen Albanian homes" in connection with "arms searches." On 4 July, the Serbian police searched for eight village residents and summoned them to "report" to the police station in Gnjilane, while Serbian police patrols on 5 July raided the homes of four of them. For the third time within a week, the Serbian police on 6 July raided the homes of two other Albanians from the same village. One of them was reportedly "beaten up severely" in front of his family members, while the other was "ordered to report" to the police station and "hand over a revolver" he was allegedly in possession of. On 7 July, the Serbian police raided the homes of two Albanians, while five others were "ordered by the police" to "report" to the police station.

It is reported from Glogovac that the Serbian police on 5 July raided the home of an Albanian from Trstenik village, who was "detained" and "ill-treated" in connection with "arms possession." On the same day, the Serbian police detained two other residents from the same village and "ill-treated" them "brutally" under the "pretext of being in possession of pieces of weapons."

Sources in Mitrovica note that under the pretext of searching for weapons, the Serbian police ordered three Albanians from Vllahi village to "report" to the police station in Mitrovica and interrogated them for "a couple of hours." It is reported from Kacanik that the Serbian police on 2 July detained a resident in Dubrave village and "ill-treated" him "brutally" while "in custody."

The Serbian police in Kacanik summoned the chairman of the Mother Teresa charitable association in Kacanik and two of its activists to "report" to the police station. On 4 and 5 July, the Serbian police also summoned three Albanians from Dubrave village to report to the police station in Kacanik. One of them was reported "ill-treated" while being held at the police station and was ordered to report again at the police station in Urosevac on 6 July.

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